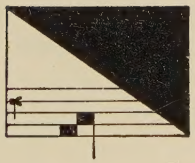
MVSICA DISCIPLINA

A Yearbook of the History of Music

ARMEN CARAPETYAN
Editor
Gilbert Reaney
Assistant Editor



Vol. XV, 1961

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY
ROME

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/musica-disciplina_1961_15

CONTENTS*

EDITORIAL
Problems of Editing and Publishing Old Music 5
REANEY, GILBERT
Some Little-Known Sources of Medieval Polyphony in England 15
GILLES, ANDRE
L'Anonyme III de Coussemaker, *Scriptores* III 27
GÜNTHER, URSULA
Datierbare Balladen des Späten 14. Jahrhunderts, I 39
THE CODEX FAENZA, Biblioteca Comunale, 117 (Fa). A Facsimile Edition, Part III 63
GOTTWALD, CLYTUS
Johannes Ghiselin - Janne Verbonnet. Some Traces of His Life 105
WARREN, EDWARD B.
Robert Fayrfax: Motets and Settings of the Magnificat . . . 112
BAIRD, M. A.
Changes in the Literary Texts of the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries, as Shown in the Works of the Chanson Composers of the Pays-Bas Méridionaux 145
MILLER, CLEMENT A.
The *Dodecachordon:* Its Origins and Influence on Renaissance Musical Thought 156
KAUFMANN, HENRY W.
The Motets of Nicola Vicentino 167
BERNET KEMPERS, K. Ph.
Jacobus Clemens non Papa's Chansons in their Chronological Order 187
ARNOLD, DENIS
Towards a Biography of Giovanni Gabrieli 200
MacCLINTOCK, CAROL
Giustiniani's *Discorso Sopra la Musica* 209
BIBLIOGRAPHY 227
AVAILABLE PUBLICATIONS OF THE A.I.M. 245

* In a more or less chronological order.

EDITORIAL

Problems of Editing and Publishing Old Music

The title is that of a "round table" discussion at the 8th Congress (New York, September, 1961) of the International Musicological Society. The writer was honored by an invitation to take part in the discussion, but he had to reply — sincerely, not facetiously — that he was too busy "editing and publishing old music" and related material, and too taken up by the problems entailed, to be sure that he would be able to take the time for participation in the Congress.

The present discussion will serve the purpose, if at all, only partially, and at any rate *in absentia*. On the other hand, it will probably go much beyond the informality of even a round table. It will be out of personal experience, in fact straight out of the annals of the organisation the writer has directed for some 15 years. Learned colleagues will undoubtedly take up the strictly musicological points of the topic. What follows here is more of a human story out of actual experience (bearing rather much on the first term of the title) than a technical or theoretical or academic discussion. We shall proceed looking into the terms of the title. At least for the purpose of this discussion the title is not precise enough, nor is it sufficient.

1. *"Old"*. This is very vague. From mid-twentieth-century point of view where is the dividing line between "old" and "new"? In his younger and more foolish days the writer gave for a season or two weekly broadcast recitals of early sonatas. This was not quite a short generation ago. Yet many, especially music professors and musicians, considered it as an antiquarian venture, some with awe, some with suspicion. Others — musicians they — thought it as digging up old bones that had best be left in peace. Is Bach, even today, old or new? Is Descartes, considered as the inaugurator of modern thought, only new? Music history itself has at least since the 14th century posed and juxtaposed the terms "old" and "new" (*ars antiqua, ars nova, musica nuova, nuove musiche*), to go no further than the early years of the 17th century. The geography too of "old" must be established. Is it only the West in question, or does East meet West here?

In view of the individual nature, already mentioned, of this discussion, "old" confines itself here to the polyphonic period. Where such a delimitation is impossible, it is suggested that the term be taken, for such a purpose

as that of the round table, to mean as referring to material that requires some act of transcription, translation, interpretation, annotation, etc.

2. *"Editing"*: What is it? There is no common concept of it and no common practice. Of necessity editing differs in its philosophy, technique and application with differing music. It is one thing in plainsong, another in polyphony, another in figured bass, yet another in a work of a Mozart or of a Schubert. The round table, or any discussion of the kind, must bring itself down to specific fields and discuss specific problems. It will, it is to be expected, go into technical and theoretical details. Here we should like to make a few remarks, rather broad, on four categories, generally speaking, of editing:

a. Taking an established musical text — established because it is either music of a late period or is in any case already transcribed and prepared by someone else — and messing it up with so-called dynamic signs and with various indications for interpretation by the helpless and benighted performer — as assumed by the editor. Here the editor is generally a peddler and common salesman, often also a parasite or pirate. Musicology has nothing to do with him, and one hopes he in turn will have nothing to do with musicology. Unfortunately we are already beginning to see musicology used as a cloak of respectability.

b. Transcribing from sources according to presumably set rules of notation and according to other precepts of so far known theory, with a zeal for philological minutiae and scientific exactitude. The editor is more or less honest, rather detached agent and middleman. He is sober, cold, and dogmatic, if temperamentally so inclined; he may be even devoid of a sense of art. He may easily be the "philological horse" of a previous editorial, and more often than not he may be wearing an effective pair of blinkers.

c. Transcribing and dealing with theoretical matters according to known rules, but without forgetting that we are yet to complete our knowledge of the field, that we are still in the course of bringing to light material, both practical and theoretical, that will undoubtedly change ideas and practice to some extent or other; without forgetting in the meantime that we are dealing with art and that art is the most human of the intellect's activities, and especially that true art is creation under intellectual discipline, not mechanical action. Where there are questionable points, intricacies, problems, dilemmas, the editor, as serious specialist in his material and having lived with it, is bound to deal with them in the light of his own intuitive knowledge. He is the intelligent, interested but undogmatic translator and interpreter. Further development in the discipline will doubt-

less show him not always correct (as it will certainly show editor b not always correct), but provisionally we must trust him. Without his work that further development will obviously never come.

d. The forcing, as it appears to many, of all music, polyphony in this case, into a single mould, so far as concerns rhythmic unit and disposition by bar-lines in our transcriptions. The aim, sincere and earnest, is at fidelity to contemporary theory and practice. The method has unity and simplicity. Yet the vast majority of musicologists regard the method as the application of a mistaken interpretation of contemporary theory and practice. Here the editor appears somewhat as sectarian, even evangelical, tending to regard all outsiders as doomed to perdition. Perhaps some day he may prove right. For the moment his path appears to all but a very few frightfully "barred".

The editor under the third head (c) seems to be the man needed. He has things neither all cut and dried nor all afloat and adrift. He takes both art and science into account; he lives the art and cogitates the science; he aims at a correct and valid and where this is not certain a plausible version. He will not for ever be uncertain, not for ever empirical and pragmatic; but never will he be dogmatic.

We must yet mention another personage in this business of editing. Musicological editing means more often than not the editing of vast material. If there is a plan for a systematic and sustained effort to give to the discipline a substantial body of complete texts, much needed by now and eagerly waited for, the effort becomes, of course, collective. A general editor is here indispensable, obviously. His task on the human plane alone requires good sense, good judgment, some diplomacy, a great capacity for exacting labor, and a saint's patience. Moreover, he must have if not a "passion for anonymity" certainly a positive love for a thankless job; he must know how to ingurgitate the lump of having been taken for granted, if not of ingratitude itself. For no one — in some cases seemingly not even the author whose work has had the benefit of the general editor's supervision — will be aware of the tedious hours, sometimes during days, weeks, gone into a manuscript alone for a proper order in it, be it typographical and the like or of other technical matters, and for a coherent, logical composition in writing and in the organization of the material. It is not a rare thing to have saved the author from embarrassments. It is no secret that generally authors in technical and specialized subjects make poor writers from a literary standpoint; but it is disconcerting that some are incapable of clear and logical expression, precisely when they write not literature but science (in its broad sense). Too often is obscurity of expression passed off indifferently either because the subject is technical or because, it is thought,

the prose is the expression of obscurity. In musicology, specifically, and particularly in America, there is, let it be admitted, a regrettable tendency to taking language carelessly, at times even irresponsibly. The situation is viciated by the importation not only of German terms wholesale or in literal translation but also of a curious — and certainly offensive — brand of German English. This is understandable when from the pen of immigrant musicologists, but not when it is by native Americans. So musicological English has often to be purged of elements that offend the ear, and in some cases even of elementary faults in grammar and syntax. But there are cases where style and technical discussion are too closely intertwined in a highly specialized work, and it is either completely rewriting the work (which can be and is done with short texts) or reluctantly letting it pass after tidying it as much as possible short of rewriting — which is not, after all, the general editor's task. There are, of course, authors who cause no trouble to the general editor, before or after delivery of their work. Their manuscripts are well prepared in every sense and are ready for the printer.

3. *"Publishing"*. At first sight the term hardly seems to need definition. Everybody knows that publishing means getting a book written and printed, and selling it to the public presumably for a profit. But in a serious scheme of publishing old music and related works some natural laws — certainly business laws — are turned upside down. At any rate, it is here that much of the human — and the inhuman — comes into play. Publishing is a complex process with a number of factors:

a. *The Author-Editor,* human No. 1 in the process: Your ideal man is to be an expert in his job, first and foremost, then informed in the technical things involved in the production of his work and comprehensive of the publisher's problems. He is to be, moreover, a reliable worker and cooperative, courteous and kind. With such a man the miseries of the publisher of specialized cultural works are reduced by the extent that an author can create them — and he can create them to a fearful extent. But rare is the man, or woman, who embodies all the virtues just mentioned. Even the elect few are not always free agents. At least *force majeur* may intervene. So somewhere on the way in the progress of the work, especially when it consists of multiple volumes spanning years for its completion, something is going to break down, at least for a time. In our experience all authors have been at least efficient. There have been and there are excellent collaborators among our author-editors; there have been two or three who have defaulted and have had to be replaced; and there are those who have been carrying on very ably, even authoritatively, but irregularly in pace, without losing sleep on commitments delayed or delinquent. A few have been snatched on the way by death — to the loss of musicology in every

case, but not in every case to the impoverishment of the roster of noble characters in the profession.

The real problem, so far as concerns editor-author with editions requiring sustained work during a number of years (as is the case with most of ours) is to keep the author working and delivering manuscripts regularly. Of the dozens of collaborators engaged in the preparation of more or less lengthy works, all but two or three are active university professors. It is easy to understand that their professional activities may hinder a rapid progress in the preparation for press of a work comprising from four or five to fifteen or twenty volumes and requiring years for its realization. There is also the fact that too many succomb to the temptation of engaging in short-range projects and of diversifying themselves excessively. This is doubtless enjoyable or restful for the author, or perhaps necessary in professional life and sometimes for practical reasons; but it is not helpful in the fulfilment of commitments already made, and in our case postpones the fulfilment of an essential and primary task in the discipline — that of unearthing source material. Another editorial in *Musica Disciplina* has dealt with this question of pre-eminence in musicological endeavor. Apprentice musicologists may and should diversify their interest in their study and in their writings; some second and third rate musicologists run all over the field with frenzy; first rate musicologists can and should variegate their work, to the benefit of the discipline; but it is disappointing to see some of them disperse their attention, lose concentration, and arrest penetration where the discipline has pressing need, and where they are the able specialists. These men are particularly needed for the bringing to light of sources from the Middle Ages. The Renaissance too needs no less able specialists in the same primary task.

b. *The Printer* (who in musicology must be understood to be either the printer or the engraver or both). He is human No. 2 in our story. But let us hasten to acknowledge him in his new position aloft. Today man still proposes but in this thing it is the printer who disposes! To get a work of technical complexity, as is the case with most musicological publications, printed with technical excellence and in good taste esthetically, is an achievement of almost heroic measure and a proof of moral and physical endurance. In our affluent and technicologically developed society we are wont to see and handle daily objects, among them books, whose production has entailed many details, much skill, great expenditures. No one without actual experience can be aware of what goes into the production of even a simple book, let alone a book involving various processes of engraving and printing, complicated type setting, special signs non existent in normal typographical fonts and which must be devised and inserted in the text by various exacting and costly methods, etc., etc. In learned publications

dealing with research material the situation is sometimes further aggravated by the discovery of new material while the work is at the printer's. How many times have we had to interrupt work or suspend it, to the exasperation and fury of the printer (fury that is not forgotten at the time of writing the bill), for the inclusion of a new bit of evidence or a new source or an amended view or conclusion! If the printer has assumed a demi-godly position in the affairs of a publisher, in his own affairs he is today an unhappy mortal, at the mercy of luck regarding the moral and technical quality of the men he employs. The general decadence in workmanship today naturally makes itself known in a craft that, besides to some extent verging on art, requires painstaking care and extreme accuracy. Today it is becoming usual to examine three, four, five, six proofs when two proofs used to be normal and sufficient. Even so the final result is unpredictable. Gentle reader, when next you take in hand a book in musicology showing complexity in typography and makeup and good workmanship, as well as scholarship and quality in its contents, think of the toil, indeed of the sweat and tears, if not blood too, that have gone into its making.

c. *Finances:* The greatest practical problem in learned and specialized publications is limited circulation. The situation becomes something of a vicious circle, as the publisher is forced to charge a rather high price because the edition is small and circulation even smaller, and on the other hand the circulation remains small because the price seems high. Like all specialized and learned works, serious musicological publications are a burden financially. The subscriber or purchaser must carry a part of the burden by paying perhaps higher prices (this is not always true) than what he would pay for something corresponding but of a popular nature. But he can never be expected to pay prices high enough to cover the costs of a limited edition. Nor, it seems, can it be expected that all or most of those who might purchase these publications will do so — at least not as long as within a new and restricted discipline as musicology men of the profession will not feel it a certain moral duty to support by subscription or purchase publications and projects of publications that they themselves know and acknowledge to be essential and indispensable and of immense usefulness in the very life and growth of their profession. Of course allowance must be made for today's demands of mere existence on the financial resources of a scholar. But it is a fact that many a scholar will spend on an evening's entertainment or for dining out with his wife at least as much as the cost of an important publication representing — he ought to know — years of study and work (not to speak of the material side in production alluded to above) and of no mere decorative value to him; yet he will begrudge spending a similar sum for the publication in question, or the idea of

acquiring it for his own good and for the good of the endeavor behind the publication will not even occur to him.

So, such publications must be subsidized. Who will subsidize them when it is not a matter of a single volume or a single set here and there, but a long-range project of publishing systematically a large body of primary material? In musicology, nobody! Nobody, that is, except the madman who may happen to have conceived of such a project and launched it within the framework of a private organization (since societies or public bodies will not do it), and if he happens to be either a man of vast financial means or of vast idealism, perhaps jeopardizing his own security or even sacrificing it, all for a contribution to culture — which the world does not want, and for the good of the world's soul — which it does not have.

These are projects that must either be backed by public organizations and public funds, as is often the case in Europe, to be sure not without the evils and vexations that are inherent when culture is fostered by politics, or they must have the benefit of the better system in America, that is, help from the great private foundations and private funds. These private or semi-private philanthropic foundations have of late years given some attention to musicology. The writer himself has had occasion to recommend a number of musicologists, who have applied to some of these foundations for grants; and all of them have been successful. Yet, we are very far from the day when musicology will receive due support from these great foundations whose executives are not enlightened enough about the significance and interest of what musicology is trying to do and will do. Vast sums are yearly contributed to that old rattling hackney hitched to a team of bellowing and screeching beasts, rolling in the ruts of the same dusty path. How tremendous is the force of snobbery and of social glitter in our life! One year's expenditure on that costly entertainment and social event that is the opera would accomplish — though of course not in one year — the entire task of recapturing treasures of musical art and of learning connected with them from great cultural ages — how much greater than ours!

In some cases the very assistance granted to music and musicology cause consternation and despair. In the course of these past years the writer, in Europe, has directly or indirectly known some of the men and women come from America with grants for study or research. What a travesty, some of them; what waste of funds! Misjudgment out of ignorance or misinformation or prejudice in making grants is human and must be expected. But it is distressing to see a helpless, talentless poor soul sent over to Europe to compose music. (And if there is fire and flame of talent, is it necessary to ship all of it, together with house and household, to Europe for its consummation — or consumption?) It is depressing and a source of indignation to see a man neither with proper general education nor with

specialized training nor even with a note of music in him come all the way to Europe in the name of study and research of which he has not the foggiest notion. It is absurd and grievous to see an affluent conductor of orchestra (or not affluent as the case may be) granted considerable funds for a musicological project of one or two years of which he must scarcely know anything and for which he has had absolutely no training, while able and well trained young men eager to work and needing help are left by the roadside. It is absurd and sadly ridiculous to see again a conductor of orchestra enjoying large grants "for the study of scores" . . . ! As if before, as active conductor, he is expected to have been pleating skirts or twiddling his thumbs (not unlikely). But so will the human factor be, and we are all in it, caught by it or figting it. The wonder of it is that we do as much as we do on the good side.

In the financing of long-range publications at least two or three things work a havoc: the constantly rising costs of production, the delays by printers, the delays by authors in delivering manuscripts and in some cases also in correcting proofs. About a dozen years ago three of our sets were offered, out of inexperience, for subscription with advance payment at an advantageous price. A number of subscribers took advantage of the offer. Unfortunately all three editions were extensive ones and, more unfortunately still, all three editions have proved to be the slowest in progress, so that even today we are not yet done with them. Even with interest on capital accounted for, these advance payments will have covered the final costs short by one half to two thirds. But delays by author and by printer do even greater damage in disrupting schedules, spoiling plans, causing confusion in business arrangements and ruining any effort at regulating circulation of capital. With over a dozen printers in Italy, Germany, Holland, England, America we have gone to press, not counting minor publications, well over a hundred times. Not once have we been without more or less serious delays. Even our own press has produced delays, since we must of course depend upon outside factors. Delays in proofs can produce startling consequences. Early in our history the correction of some important proofs was delayed for a month or two. In the hands of dishonest men, as printers, as it happened to be in that case, the delay was seized upon as pretext for getting away with a large sum paid in advance, this necessitated by the immediate post-war conditions in Italy. It took twelve years to obtain sentence at court. The sentence was in our favor, but by that time the firm in question had gone bankrupt and all its traces had vanished. The capital lost would have seen an edition of some dozen volumes to print. Many are the troubles, vexations, losses, when an idealistic endeavor depends for its realization upon a realistic and not always honorable world, and is at best subject to human frailty and failure.

Under the head of "Publishing" various other factors could yet be discussed, but they must be left out of this limited discussion. Only a few words about reviews, on which enough has been said in two previous editorials. Here it is the Marie Antoinette brand of reviewer that we must note for a moment. If learned and specialized works must be reviewed — and they must *if* the reviewer is at least equally learned and specialized, not only in the discipline but in the specific subject of the book in review — let the reviewer keep himself to the business before him. It is a curious fact that when a reviewer leaves the domain of strictly scientific criticism he more often than not confuses the reader in distinction between the human and the petty, or perhaps he confirms their synonimity. But we must come to our specific reviewer. He may or may not be human in the sense just said; he may or may not write a useful review; but he commits the innocent error of condemning a publication already very complicated in typography, and already costly, for having resorted to means for relative simplification, without prejudice to the reader's convenience, and for relative economy to the buyer of the book. Here the reviewer acts the Marie Antoinette who, it is well known, had a simple remedy for her breadless people: they should eat cake . . . It would be well if reviewers had some grasp of the material problems in the making of a book.

A necessary addition: The Round Table's topic specifically limits itself to "old music". This is good and well as such, but not at all well if it ignores, as it would seem, an essential and indispensable part in the task. Since so much of "old music" must mean music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, no serious approach can leave aside the theoretical works of the period. The editing and publishing of these texts, which have their own problems, must go hand in hand with that of the music. The editing of "old music" must constantly be nourished, checked, controlled by the theoretical works of the time, otherwise we shall for ever totter, for ever remain in the realm of empiricism and pragmatism. In a recent editorial something was said in a discussion of editing polyphony on the futility of dogmatism and of premature insistence on consistency. They are children of incomplete knowledge that still besets musicology on many sides. There is no doubt that with all the essential theoretical texts easily available and studied, and with experience gained by having in the meantime open-mindedly and soberly transcribed and studied the music, we shall eventually resolve all such vexing and seemingly intractable problems as *musica ficta* and the like.

It is for the moment a matter of work — with first things put first, of individual and collective effort, of good will among musicologists and co-operation by all, of moral and material support to any serious and

fruitful project, without much expectation of outside help. Musicology must work out its own salvation. Yes, in "problems of editing and publishing old music" there is more than meets the eye, or is likely to reach a round table, and these problems are in the last analysis, even on the strictly musicological plane, human problems.

A. C.

SOME LITTLE-KNOWN SOURCES OF MEDIEVAL POLYPHONY IN ENGLAND

GILBERT REANEY

It is a remarkable fact that England is often considered as relatively weak in its holdings of medieval manuscripts of polyphonic music, for there is no complete source between the 11th century Winchester Troper and the early 15th century Old Hall codex. However, as soon as fragments and odd pages are taken into account, it becomes clear that England has in fact more sources of medieval polyphony than any other country. Oxford is quite exceptional in having more than 50 manuscripts of this type, but Cambridge and London are also well provided with a score or so of sources each. This assessment is in fact a conservative one based essentially on sources up to c. 1400. Other parts of the country have also recently produced important fragments, namely Aberystwyth (Wales), Durham, Kelham, Ripon, Saxilby, Shrewsbury, Stratford-upon-Avon and York, though once again Oxford is unique in providing us with at least a dozen new sources since the war ended in 1945. I have to thank Dom Anselm Hughes for putting me on the track of some of these out-of-the-way codices *.

The present article is simply an attempt to make known a limited number of these manuscripts. The first Oxford source in question here is in fact a 14th century Italian manuscript, Bodleian Library, Lyell 72. This small Processional containing ii + 177 folios appears to be from Northern Italy. It measures only 111 × 82 mm. Folios i, ii and 175 are modern blank parchment flyleaves, while f. 91 and 155 are numbered twice by the small modern pencil foliation at the top right recto. Missing pages in the original have been appropriately filled in by a modern hand in several places, both words and music. The binding consists of brown half-leather over thick wooden boards; ornamentation is in the nature of blind tooling and there is a clasp. At f. 98 a Kyriale begins rather suddenly with the Ite preceding the Mass *Cunctipotens*. This part of the codex ends at f. 107v,

* A number are also mentioned in M. F. Bukofzer, 'Changing Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music', *Musical Quarterly* XLIV (1958), 1 ff; and E. Apfel, *Studien zur Satztechnik der mittelalterlichen englischen Musik,* I, Heidelberg (1959).

and a sequentiary begins with *Laetabundus* and continues from f. 108 through to the end. The polyphony consists of a few sequences and motets in this section, most of which are well-known from French sources. The two sequences are unmeasured, while the upper voices of the motets are divided up clearly into longs and breves. The music is generally notated on 5 or 6 red four-line staves per page in square notes. Of the 5 motets, one is to be found among the sequences, though score notation is also used for this work in the Darmstadt fragments and the ms *LoHa*. Although it has a motet tenor, no. 2 seems to have been considered as a sequence, for the tenor *Domino* is not labelled and the piece moves in note-against-note conductus style to a sequence text [1]. It is even preserved in *Don* as a monodic sequence without its tenor [2]. Of course, it is true that the present source does not label any of the tenors, but in the case of the other motets, the usual motet notation in independent parts is employed. The well known 12th century sequence *Verbum bonum et suave* is pressed into service once again, here in its classic form as against the rather over-ornamented version to be found in W_1. Incidentally, the Limoges source of the work, which has been known a long time [3], also contains a two-part conductus *Res est mirabilis* and a two-part Credo in rather archaic style. The latter is copied with the Credo intonation in the lower part, which then continues by paraphrasing the rest of Vatican Credo I. The style is nevertheless of note-against-note conductus, or perhaps one should say organal type, using fourths, fifths and octaves. Only the Amen is more melismatic.

INVENTORY OF OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS LYELL 72 *

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Concordances	Remarks
1	159-161	Verbum bonum et suave	2^2	S	*Douai* 90, f. 178-178v; *Douai* 274, f. 1; *Assisi* 695, f. 238v; *Kelham* 2; *Limoges*, f. 235-236; W1 f. 191v-192; W2 f. 141v-143; *Hu* f. 36v-38	Facsimile CoussH, pl. XXIV-XXV (*Douai* 90); AnglèsHu II, f. 36v-38 (*Hu*); Baxter, f. 191v-192 (W1); DittmerW2 f. 141v-143 (W2). Edn. CoussH, p. xxiv at back (*Douai* 90); AnglèsHu III, no. 54 (*Hu*); SeayAs, 32ff (*Assisi* 695).

[1] J. Handschin, 'The Summer Canon and its Background' in *Musica Disciplina* III (1949), 61.

[2] *Ibid.*, 65.

[3] F. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum*, Halle (1910), 13.

* Abbrevitions for form of composition: C = Conductus; M = Motet; O = Organum; S = Sequence.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Concordances	Remarks
2	161v-162	Ave, gloriosa mater salvatoris T. [Domino]	2^2	M	W2 f. 140-141 (2-part conductus whose lower voice becomes *Mot* of the motet); *ArsB* f. 117 (2^1 voc.); *Ba* f. 1-2 (3^{1+1} voc.); *Da* f. 8av-8b (2^1 voc.) (fragm.); *Don* f. 117v (*Mot* only); *Hu* f. 100v-101 (3^{1+1} voc.); *LoHa* f. 9v-10 (3^3 voc. in conductus style with *Mot* text + supplementary textless tenor); *Maz* f. 206v (2^1 voc.); *Mo* f. 890v-93 (3^{1+1} voc.); *MüC* f. 74-75 (2^1 voc.); *Cl* f. 369-369v (3^{1+1} voc.)	Facsimile AnglèsHu II, f. 100v-101 (*Hu*); AubryBa I, f. 1-2 (*Ba*); DittmerCl and GennrichCl, f. 369-369v (*Cl*); DittmerW2, f. 140-141 (W2); GennrichDa, f. 8av-8b (*Da*); RoksethMo I, f. 89-93 (*Mo*); Wooldridge, pl. 20-21 (*LoHa*). Edn. AnglèsHu III, no. 101; AubryBa II, no. 1; RoksethMo II, no. 53.
3	163-164	Virgo mater gloriosa	2^2	S		
4	164v	O Maria, maris stella T. [Veritatem]	2^1	M	*ArsA* f. 290v-291; *ArsB* f. 2v; *Ba* f. 48v-49 (3^{1+1} voc.); *Ca* f. 129v; *Da* f. ^{1}av (3^{1+1} voc.) (fragm.); *F* f. 397v-398 (3^2 voc.); *Hu* f. 102v-103 (3^2 and also 3^{1+1} voc. with a new *Tr*); *Hu* f. 124v-124 bis (3^{1+1} voc. with *Tr* as in *Mo*, *Ba*, etc.); *Mo* f. 88v-90 (3^{1+1} voc.); W2 f. 125-126; *ErfC* f. Vv (fragm.)	Incomplete. Facsimile AnglèsHu II, f. 102v-103 and f. 124v-124 bis (*Hu*); AubryBa I, f. 48v-49 (*Ba*); DittmerW2, f. 125-126 (W2); GennrichDa, f. 1av (*Da*); RoksethMo I, f. 88v-90 (*Mo*). Edn. AnglèsHu III, nos. 104 + 137; AubryBa II, no. 75; GennrichI, 269ff; GeroldM, 269; HMS II, 53; RoksethMo II, no. 52.
5	172v-173	Virgo, decus castitatis T. [Alleluya]	2^1	M	*ArsB* f. 2 and 118 (3^{1+1} voc.); *Ba* f. 59v-60 (3^{1+1} voc.); *Boul* f. 92; *CTr* f. 230v (3^2 voc.); *Hu* f. 105v-106 (3^{1+1} voc.); *LoC* f. 5v; *MüB* f. IIbv (3^{1+1} voc.) (fragm.); *Mo* f. 96v-98 (3^{1+1} voc.)	Facs. AubryBa III, pl. 5 (*ArsB*): AnglèsHu II, f. 105v-106 (*Hu*); AubryBa I, f. 59v-60 (*Ba*); GennrichAF, pl. XIIa (*LoC*); RoksethMo I, f. 96v-98 (*Mo*). Edn. AnglèsHu III, no. 107; AubryBa II, no. 95; RoksethMo II, no. 58; WolfH I, 218.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Concordances	Remarks
6	173-173v	Mellis, stilla, maris stella T. [Domino]	2^1	M	*ArsA* f. 290v; *ArsB* f. 3; *Ba* f. 36-36v (3^1+^1 voc.); *Boul* f. 1v (*Mot* only); *Ca* f. 129; *CCC* f. 255v; *Cl* f. 374v-375 (3^1+^1 voc.); *Hu* f. 166, 166v and 152 (3^2 voc.); *Mo* f. 72v-75 (3^1+^1 voc.); *MüC* f. 73-73v; *Paris 11266*, f. 40v-41v (3^1+^1 voc.); *RawlG*, f. 106v	Facs. AnglèsHu II, f. 166, 166v and 152 (*Hu*); AubryBa I, f. 36-36v (*Ba*); DittmerCl and GennrichCl, f. 374v-375 (*Cl*); RoksethMo I, f. 72v-75 (*Mo*). Edn. AnglèsHu III, no. 157; AubryBa II, no. 58; RoksethMo II, no. 40.
7	173v-174	O Maria, mater pia T. [Go]	2^1	M	*F* f. 393-393v (3^2 voc.); *MüB* f. Iav (3^1+^1 voc.) (fragm.); W2 f. 183v-184; W2 f. 129v-130 (3^2 voc.) and f. 154v-155 (2^1 voc.) (these versions with a new text); W2 f. 251v-252 (still another text)	Facs. DittmerW2, f. 183v-184, f. 129v-130, f. 154v-155 and f. 251v-252 (W2).

Another Bodleian source, Savile 25, is a 14th century parchment manuscript meas. 227 × 168 mm. and contains 204 folios. The main contents are the *Tractatus summe iudicialis de accidentibus mundi* by Johannes de Estemdenc, a former member of Merton College, Oxford (f. 1-163). The modern pencil foliation does not include the musical fragment at the beginning, which I call f. A. The rest of the present volume is mainly concerned with the calendar, and there is an important computistic section. It would appear from a by no means old foliation in heavy ink at the top right of recto pages that this codex as a whole was once part of a larger manuscript, for the numbering runs from 162-367. The 14th century musical flyleaf was once fastened to the front wooden cover and has left a mirror image, which has been photographed in reverse as Ms. Facs. d. 90, f. 83. The page is in any case upside down in Savile 25, and therefore the ms recto is really the verso as I list it, and vice versa. The original musical manuscript which contained this page was longer but only a little wider than the present leaf. The notation is of the type usually called English mensural notation. It includes the semibreve with a descending tail and the semibreve with a tail descending obliquely to the left. There were originally at least 13 red four- or five-line staves per page. The page in question here is badly damaged and torn away almost to the middle at the bottom right-hand corner. Hence identification of the contents, which appear to be

motets exclusively, is somewhat tentative. The first item is the end of a *Mot* or *Tr* with the explicit . . . . *humilis hoc tua per viscera.* The codex preserves two staves of music and one line of text. The next item, whether it belongs to item one or not, is a *Mot* beginning *Virgo stillicidio fecunda* with the tenor *Virgo.* On f. Av is another *Mot* and tenor, the *Mot* ending . . . *salvatoris* while the tenor is not identified. This work is very much worn and further disfigured by holes in the page. Finally a fourth item preserves an illegible *Mot* and tenor.

A more considerable discovery was the four musical flyleaves found in the printed book Wood 591 in the Bodleian in 1954. This is a copy of William Painter's *The Pallace of Pleasure Beautified* of 1569 and has already been mentioned in the catalogue of English Music in the Bodleian exhibition of 1955, 15 and in F. Ll. Harrison's *Music in Medieval Britain* (1958), 132 and 139ff. The flyleaves now measure 197 × 145 mm, but the top margins are cut away considerably. The notation is of Notre Dame type and the red five-line staves are grouped together in continuous accolades of 10 or 15 lines. The two sets of leaves, two from the front of the book and two from the back, are from the three- and two-voice conductus fascicles of a larger manuscript respectively. Those at the front are upside down, hence my f. 1-2v is really f. 2v-1. In addition rectos are versos, and vice versa. Fortunately, the two front leaves are consecutive, and the same is true of the two back leaves. While the two-part compositions are widely diffused Notre Dame pieces, the three-part ones appear to be English works of the 13th century. This is almost conclusively proved by the presence of rondelli embedded in them.

INVENTORY OF OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS WOOD 591

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Concordances	Remarks
1	1v-1	O(o) laudanda virginitas	3^3	C		
2	1	O(o) benigna, preces audi	3^3	C		Incomplete.
3	2v-2	[Sal]ve, mater misericordie, stella maris	3^3	C	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Corpus Christi College 489, f. 1v (opening only)	Opening missing, but completed by concordance. Facs. HarrisonM, pl. X on p. 13 (part). Edn. HarrisonM, 139ff.
4	2	Salve, rosa venustatis	3^3	C		Incomplete.
5	4v-4	[B]eate virginis fecundat viscera	2^2	C	*Heidelberg*, f. 2v (opening only); *Ma* f. 54v-56; W1 f. 128v-129v; *F* f. 283v-284v	Facs. DittmerMa, f. 54v-56 (*Ma*); Baxter, f. 128v-129v (W1)

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Concordances	Remarks
6	4, 3v and 3	Ista dies celebrari promeretur	2^2	C	*Ma* f. 56-57v; W1 f. 159v-160v; F f. 274v-276	Facs. DittmerMa, f. 56-57v (*Ma*); Baxter, f. 159v-160v (W1); GennrichM, 56 (part of F).
7	3	Virga Iesse regio flore	2^2	C	F f. 314v-315v; W1 f. 157-158	Opening only. Facs. Baxter, f. 157-158 (W1).

Two more Oxford sources have recently produced fragments of conductus, though I only have details of the first of these, which consists of 2 bifolios forming paste-downs at the front and back of another printed book with the call number, Bodleian Library, Auct. VI. Q. 3. 17. I am indebted to Dr R. T. Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, for the indications of compositions and positions on folios, for I have not yet been able to see the original pages. All the pieces are from the Notre Dame conductus repertoire.

INVENTORY OF OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS AUCT. VI. Q. 3. 17

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Concordances	Remarks
1	1	[In rosa vernat lilium]	2^2	C	*Ma* f. 52v-54v; W1 f. 116-117; F f. 271v-272v	Ending only. Facs. DittmerMa, f. 52v-54v (*Ma*); Baxter f. 116-117 (W1); GennrichM, 63 (part of F).
2	1-1v	Iam vetus litera	2^2	C	*Ma* f. 47-48v; W1 f. 142-143; F f. 272v-273v	Facs. DittmerMa, f. 47-48v (*Ma*); Baxter, f. 142-143 (W1); GennrichM, 64 part of F).
3	2-2v	Condimentum nostre spei	2^2	C	*Ma* f. 45-47; W1 f. 114-115; F f. 276-277	Incomplete. Facs. DittmerMa, f. 45-47 (*Ma*); Baxter, f. 114-115 (W1).
4	3	[Puer nobis est natus]	2^2	C	*Heidelberg* f. 1-2 (fragm.); *Ma* f. 27v-30v; W1 f. 143-145; F f. 267v-269v	Ending only. Facs. DittmerMa, f. 27v-30v (*Ma*); Baxter, f. 143-145 (W1).
5	3-4v	Pater noster commiserans	2^2	C	*Ma* f. 42-45; W1 f. 136v-138v; F f. 278v-280v	Incomplete. Facs. DittmerMa, f. 42-45 (*Ma*); Baxter, f. 136v-138v (W1); GennrichM, 67 (part of F).

The London ms, British Museum, Harl. 5958 (*LoHarl*) has already been mentioned by Ludwig [4] and Gennrich [5], but they only seem to have known f. 22 after the catalogue of Hughes-Hughes [6]. *LoHarl* is a composite manuscript compiled during the present century, mainly consisting of odd parchment musical fragments, principally Gregorian. The known page f. 22 dates from c. 1300 and measures 308 × 200 mm., but was probably originally c. 340 × 230 mm., since it is cut away at the top and right margins. The notation is of English type with rhombs for breves and the English form of the conjunctura, but otherwise is typical motet notation of the period. The other two fragments at f. 32 and 65 belong together, for they form left and right corners of the same original folio, the middle being lost. Although measuring only 137 × 68 and 137 × 75 mm. respectively, they can tell us quite a lot. The size is clear indication that they were cut up as front and back flyleaves for the same volume. But the original musical manuscript from which they were detached must have been of some importance. It was alphabetically arranged, for all the pieces begin with B, and, in addition the items here numbered 3 and 4 bear the numbers X and XI in the original. The notation has the same features as f. 22, and, in spite of appearances, a date earlier than the last quarter of the 13th century seems unlikely. Ligatures *cum opposita proprietate* are employed and item 5 moves predominantly in thirds. It is not clear whether the tenor underneath the two voices in score belongs to the work, which would then be a motet, Item 3 is probably a unique example of a four-part Benedicamus.

INVENTORY OF LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, MS HARLEY 5958

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Concordances	Remarks
1	22	Nobili precinitur vaticinio / Flos de virga nascitur, sol / T. Proles Marie virginis pie	3^{1+1+1}	M	*Mo* f. 104v-106 (T. Eius here textless)	Facs. RoksethMo I, f. 104v-106 (*Mo*). Edn. RoksethMo II, no. 67.
2	22v	...-mpendia cuius natura / O homo / T. T.	3^{1+1}	M	not identical with Oxford, New College 362, f. 83v and 90	Opening of *Tr* and tenor lost, since all parts are cut away at left.

[4] F. Ludwig, 'Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 277.

[5] F. Gennrich, *Bibliographie der ältesten französischen Motetten*, Darmstadt (1957), XLVI.

[6] A. Hughes-Hughes, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum* III, London (1909), 354.

No.	Folio	Beginning of text	Voices	Form	Concordances	Remarks
3	32, 65	Benedic[amus domin]o	4^4	O		Middle lost.
4	32, 65	Bis in cuius	1^1	M?		First few notes of a motet part?
5	65v-32	. . . nobis filium carnem T. Beata viscera	3^{2+1}?	M?		End of a motet?
6	32v	T. Benedicta	1^0	M?		Textless except for incipit.
7	65v	B[ ]	1^0	M?		First few notes of a motet part?

A manuscript mentioned by Dom Anselm Hughes in the *New Oxford History of Music* II (1954), 347 as Jersey, Manoir de la Trinité, 8 is now located at the House of the Sacred Mission in Kelham, a small village a few miles from Newark in Nottinghamshire. This 13th-14th century vellum Gradual was apparently bought by Athelstane Riley, the lord of Trinity Manor, in 1890. It measures 260 × 190 mm. and contains 98 folios plus 3 flyleaves at each end. Bannister, who examined the codex in 1915, was of the opinion that it originated in a Premonstratensian monastery in Eastern Flanders. The ms is misbound, as can be seen from the old foliation on f. 1 (modern numbering) beginning with the number 85 at the top middle of recto pages. This goes up to f. 45 (modern numbering), namely the old f. 129. The old f. 84 is not the end of the codex but the modern f. 88. Apart from the Proper, the ms contains a small Ordinary which has been used over and over again so that the corners are worn away. In fact on f. 68 a piece of paper with square notation in a 17th century hand has been stuck over to make good the damage. This section (f. 66v-73) is followed immediately by a sequentiary (f. 73-80 and f. 90-97v). The Gloria trope *Spiritus et alme* appears to be a later addition in square notes from c. 1400. The corpus of the ms is written in Metz neumes on red four-line staves. Two polyphonic pieces are to be found on f. 22v-23v, both of them sequences in two-part score notation. The script is at variance with the plainsong corpus, for it has tall-slender initials. While one piece, a unicum *Cum summa letitia laudemus,* is written in the characteristic Metz neumes, the second work, the well-known two-part sequence *Verbum bonum et suave,* employs longs and square ligatures. The Alleluia plainsong incipits preceding each piece seem to be an anachronism here and simply borrow the first few notes of the lower of the two parts of each piece.

Less known perhaps than the Durham Cathedral Library ms A. III. 11, which contains a troped Kyrie, and a textless Sanctus and Agnus in three-part discant dating from the first half of the 14th century, is the ms A. IV. 23 of the 15th century. A vellum codex measuring 164 × 106 mm., this source is principally a complete copy of the Old and New Testament on 329 folios. Fragments of music appear on the front flyleaf f. 1, which is upside down. The polyphony occurs on the recto side in typical 15th century white notes (semiminims in black). Obviously this is merely the left-hand corner of a larger ms, the present page containing a single voice with c_2 clef. The composition is the second part of a Gloria from "unigenite Jhesu Christe" to "patris A[men]".

The Saxilby manuscript, which I have not been able to examine, has been used as a cover for some documents, like a number of other English musical sources of the Middle Ages, such as the two Westminster Abbey codices 12185 and 33327. It must date from the second half of the 15th century, but it is a rarity in that it employs the unusual stroke notation, in which the notes look like rests. The present bifolio contains the second half of a Credo, beginning at "Et resurrexit". It is in four parts and is written in *tempus imperfectum* with the mensuration sign C.

The York manuscript now preserved in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research is a single parchment bifolio measuring 286 × 197 mm. It is an early 15th century manuscript of particular notational interest, since the first piece is in black notation while the second and third are in white notation with red coloration. Unfortunately, the top line is cut away, so that the lower two parts only are preserved for the opening of each composition. Moreover, this bifolio is not the centre of a gathering. There were originally 9 brown five-line staves per page. The opening of the first piece . . .*-nis vitia mundes* on f. 1 is missing. The second piece *Nesciens mater* on f. 1v is truncated at the end, its last words being *salvatorem seculo*. This piece is in any case also preserved in the Old Hall ms, f. 38v, where its author is identified as Byttering. Dom Anselm Hughes has published it in HMS III, 31f, while it appears in the edition of *The Old Hall Manuscript* by A. Ramsbotham in vol. I (1933), 157f. The opening of "the third piece [*Regina celi*] *Alleluya. ℣. Quia quem meruisti* on f. 2-2v is also missing.

A parchment fragment of the early 15th century exists at Stratford, Shakespeare Birthplace Library, under the signature Willoughby de Broke 1744. Of the two separate leaves, one is complete and measures 444 × 312 mm. The other is only the bottom half of a folio, which is also cut away at the bottom left recto. This leaf measures 259 × 318 mm. The verso of the complete folio is very worn, but at least it ensures that the composer's name is preserved intact, namely Picart. There is no foliation, but the two leaves

are from different parts of the same codex. I have called the half page f. 1.

Another name is indicated on the recto of the complete page by the initials ".h.ct" at the top. The two leaves are now kept in a parchment folder. The 15th century Ars Nova type black notation employs white and red coloration and the usual mensuration signs for *tempus perfectum cum prolatione imperfecta* and *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta.* Both notes and staves (12 five-line per page) are in the same brown ink. The apparently English compositions date from about the same time as the Old Hall manuscript and consist of polyphonic mass movements in cantilena style, together with the only complete work: a three-part Kyrie in score in fairly ornate English discant style. The pieces are divided up as follows: 1. f. 1: end of a textless voice, probably the Contratenor, of a Gloria; 2. f. 1: the Kyrie; 3. f. 1v: end of the Cantus and almost all the tenor of a Credo; 4. f. 2: the tenor and Contratenor of a Credo; 5. f. 2v: the Cantus and tenor of a Credo by Picart.

These are just a few of the valuable sources preserved in England in the shape of fragments. Further research will prove just how important English libraries are in conserving an important and probably the most varied extant collection of medieval polyphonic music.

WORKS CITED IN THE PRESENT INVENTORY

AnglèsHu	Anglès, Higini, *El Còdex musical de Las Huelgas,* 3 vols., Barcelona 1931.
AubryBa	Aubry, Pierre, *Cent Motets du XIIIe Siècle,* 3 vols., Paris, 1908.
Baxter	Baxter, J. H., *An Old St. Andrews Music Book,* London, 1931.
CoussH	Coussemaker, Charles Edmond Henri de, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Age,* Paris, 1852.
DittmerCl	Dittmer, Luther, *Publications of Mediaeval Musical Manuscripts IV: Paris, nouv. acq. fr. 13521 & lat. 11411,* Brooklyn, 1959.
DittmerMa	Dittmer, Luther, *Publications . . . I: Madrid 20486,* Brooklyn, 1957.
DittmerW$_2$	Dittmer, Luther, *Publications . . . II: Wolfenbuttel 1099,* Brooklyn, 1960.
GennrichAF	Gennrich, Friedrich, *Abriss der frankonischen Mensuralnotation,* 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1956.
GennrichCl	Gennrich, Friedrich, *Ein altfranzösischer Motettenkodex, Facs.-Ausgabe der Handschrift La Clayette,* Darmstadt, 1958.
GennrichDa	Gennrich, Friedrich, *Die Wimpfener Fragmente der Hessischen Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt,* Darmstadt, 1958.

GennrichI — Gennrich, Friedrich, 'Internationale mittelalterliche Melodien' in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* XI (1929), 259ff.

GennrichM — Gennrich, Friedrich, *Musica Sine Littera,* Darmstadt, 1956.

GeroldM — Gerold, Théodore, *La Musique au Moyen Age,* Paris, 1932.

HarrisonM — Harrison, Frank Llewelyn, *Music in Medieval Britain,* London, 1958.

HMS — Hughes, Dom Anselm, *History of Music in Sound,* vols. II-III, London, 1953.

RoksethMo — Rokseth, Yvonne, *Les Polyphonies du XIIIe Siècle,* 4 vols., Paris, 1935-39.

SeayAs — Seay, Albert, 'Le Manuscrit 695 de la Bibliothèque Communale d'Assise' in *Revue de Musicologie* XXXIX (1957), 10-35.

Wooldridge — Wooldridge, Harry Ellis, *Early English Harmony* I, London, 1897.

MANUSCRIPTS CITED AND THEIR SIGNATURES

ArsA — Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 135. Description by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923, 212.

ArsB — Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3517-3518. Description by F. Ludwig in *Repertorium organorum,* Halle, 1910.

Assisi 695 — Assisi, Biblioteca Comunale, 695. Inventory in SeayAs, 12ff.

Ba — Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 115. Complete edition in AubryBa II.

Boul — Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibl. municipale, 148. Description by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 210.

Ca — Cambrai, Bibl. communale, 410. Description by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 211f.

CCC — Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 8.

Cl — Paris, Bibl. Nationale, nouvelle acquisition française, 13521. Inventory by A. Rosenthal in *Annales musicologiques* I (1953), 114 ff.

CTr — Cambridge, Trinity College, 0. 2. 1.

Da — Darmstadt, Landesbibl., 3471. Description by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 203. Complete facsimile in GennrichDa.

Don — Donaueschingen, Fürstl. Fürstenbergische Bibl., 882.

Douai 90 — Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 90.

Douai 274 — Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 274

ErfC — Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Fol. 169. Description by J. Handschin, 'Erfordensia' in *Acta Musicologica* VI (1934), 97.

F — Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Plut. 29. I. Catalogue raisonné by F. Ludwig in *Repertorium organorum,* Halle, 1910, 60ff. Inventory of conductus in E. Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre-Dame Conductus,* Regensburg, 1939, 89ff.

Heidelberg — Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, 2588. Description and list of contents in E. Gröninger. *Repertoire-Untersuchungen zum mehrstimmigen Notre Dame Conductus,* Regensburg, 1939, 19f.

Hu — Burgos, Las Huelgas codex. Inventory by H. Anglès in AnglèsHu II.

Limoges — Limoges, Bibliothèque Municipale, 2 (17). See F. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum,* Halle, 1910, 12f.

LoC — London, British Museum, Additional 30091. Description by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 210.

LoHa — London, British Museum, Harley 978. From the present viewpoint, the most useful study of the source is by J. Handschin, 'The Sumer Canon and its Background' in *Musica Disciplina* III (1949), 55ff.

Maz — Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 307. Description by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 214.

Mo — Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine, H 196. Complete edition in RoksethMo.

MüB — Munich, Staatsbibliothek, lat. 16444. Description by F. Ludwig in *Repertorium organorum,* Halle, 1910, 313 and *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 193.

MüC — Munich, Staatsbibliothek, lat. 5539. Description by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 304.

Paris 11266 — Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11266. Description by F. Ludwig in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* V (1923), 209.

RawlG — Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson G. 18. Description by Dom Anselm Hughes in *Medieval Polyphony in the Bodleian Library,* Oxford, 1951, 47.

W_1 — Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 628. Catalogue raisonné by F. Ludwig in *Repertorium organorum,* 7ff. Inventory of conductus in E. Gröninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen,* 63ff.

W_2 — Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 1099. Catalogue raisonné by F. Ludwig in *Repertorium organorum,* 157ff. Inventory of conducutus in E. Groninger, *Repertoire-Untersuchungen,* 155ff.

Ma — Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 20486. Catalogue raisonné by F. Ludwig in *Repertorium organorum,* 125ff. Inventory of conductus in E. Gröninger *Repertoire-Untersuchungen,* 139ff.

L'ANONYME III DE COUSSEMAKER, *SCRIPTORES* III

ANDRE GILLES

INTRODUCTION

L'étude du ms BN lat. 15128 s'inscrit assez heureusement à la suite des études réalisées sur l'*Ars Nova* de Philippe de Vitry dans les livraisons antérieures de cette revue. C'est ce que soulignent nos références à AN, "The *Ars Nova* of Ph. de Vitry" (Vatic. Barb. 307), *MD* X, 1956 et XI, 1957; TI, "Un témoignage inédit de l'enseignement de Ph. de Vitry" (BN lat. 7378 A), *MD* X, 1956; NS, "A new source for the Ars Nova of Ph. de Vitry" (BM Add. 21455), *MD* XII, 1958.

Comme cela avait été fait dans le Vaticanus, nous avons dégagé du texte un certain nombre de chapitres qui faciliteront les rapprochements. Nous avons d'autre part, sur un point, modifié l'ordre des différents paragraphes en rejetant à la fin du texte les passages relatifs aux signes qui indiquent les temps parfait et imparfait, et aux notes rouges, passages que notre copiste insère, sans raison apparente, entre ceux qui traitent de la répartition des semibrèves et des minimes à l'intérieur du temps parfait d'une part, du temps imparfait d'autre part.

Ce sont les rapports qui existent entre ce texte et celui de la Bibliothèque Vaticane que nous nous attacherons à souligner. En effet, même si le copiste ne nous avertissait pas, au début du ch. III, qu'il va nous entretenir de l'*Ars Nova,* et sans parler du fond, nous reconnaîtrions, à certaines particularités de forme, derrière l'un et l'autre de ces textes, une même personnalité.

S'agit-il de prouver qu'une brève qui se divise en trois semibrèves est parfaite (Ch. IX), c'est la même argumentation que nous trouvons dans le Vaticanus, ch. XVI: même notre ms est ici plus complet. Le Vaticanus se contente en effet de noter "Sed tempus perfectum est hujusmodi. Ergo."; mais le BN 15128 est explicite "Sed tempus perfectum, cum partitur in tres semibreves aequales, videtur habere quodam modo principium, medium et finem; ergo est perfectum."

Le même souci de fonder sur un raisonnement syllogistique une affirmation de théorie musicale se retrouve au ch. V, De Dragma, quand, de façon amusante, l'auteur remarque que la façon même de dessiner la dragma implique qu'elle ne vale que deux minimes. Et voilà qui nous amène à parler d'une note curieuse que nous n'avons jusqu'ici trouvée que

dans le Vaticanus, Ch. XV in margine, et dont nous avons donné, dans *MD* XI, 1957, une traduction et un commentaire. Selon cette note, la présence d'un "nombre plus petit" devant un "plus grand" conduit à réduire d'autant ce dernier. Le Vaticanus rend compte ainsi du sens du mot "semiditonus". La même règle explique ici la valeur de la dragma. Jeux apparemment puérils, rapprochements purement formels, mais aussi moyens mnémotechniques, et dont l'usage semble confirmer l'hypothèse que nous avons avancée d'un Ph. de Vitry à la fois Professeur de Philosophie et Cantor au Collège de Navarre entre 1316 et 1322 (*Revue Belge de Musicologie* X, 1956, fasc. 3-4, p. 151).

Il nous paraît aussi que le BN lat. 15128 apporte au Vaticanus un utile complément. C'est avec surprise en effet que l'on voit commencer l'*Ars Nova* proprement dit, au ch. XV du Vaticanus, par une étude relative à la composition du temps imperfait, sans qu'il ait été parlé du temps parfait. Nous avons d'ailleurs, au ch. XX, la preuve d'une omission, puisque le copiste écrit "Cum de temporibus et prolatione secundum quod in sex *sive novem* dividuntur minimas superius tractavimus competenter". Or il suffit, pour réparer cette omission, d'insérer entre les ch. XIV (de falsa musica) et XV le ch. VII du BN 15128 "De pronuntiatione minimarum et semibrevium in tempore perfecto".

BN lat. 15128 127r°a — 129r°a Couss. An. III

(1. DE ARTE MUSICAE BREVE COMPENDIOLUM)

2. Quoniam per ignorantiam artis musicae multi, et maxime temporibus modernis, cantando delirant, ideo de arte musicae breve compendiolum, Deo juvante, propono, et veterem ac novam artem in isto compendiolo manifestare intendo.

1. (Cap. I DE FIGURIS MUSICAE MENSURABILIS)

2. Secundum quod vulgo dicitur, ab unitate inchoandum est; et quia unitas prior est dualitate, et brevis notula habet unum tempus, longa vero duo vel plura, ideo brevis prior est quam longa, et sic semibrevis ante brevem et minima ante semibrevem.

3. Sed quia dicit auctor quod a simpliciori et leviori inchoandum est, et longae notulae sunt simpliciores brevibus et semibrevibus, quod patet quia breves notulae et semibreves difficiliores sunt ad pronuntiandum quam longae, 4 ideo ab ipsis longis tanquam a simplicioribus est inchoandum, procedendo igitur ad modos breviter motulorum vel motetorum, quia de figuris vero nihil vix est faciendum.

1. (Cap. II DE MODIS IN MUSICA MENSURABILI)

2. Sciendum est quod in cantu mensurabili secundum Magistrum Franconem, quinque sunt modi, licet quidam posuerint esse sex et septem, ut procedendo patebit.

3. Primus modus, secundum Magistrum Franconem, procedit ex omnibus longis. 4. Secundus constat ex brevi et longa. 5. Tertius constat ex longa et duabus brevibus. 6. Quartus ex duabus brevibus et longa. 7. Quintus ex omnibus brevibus et semibrevibus. 8. Vide residuum in arte Magistri Franconis.

---

1. De arte . . . compendiolum *om ms* **2.** juvente *pro* juvante *ms* veteram *pro* veterem *ms* artam *pro* artem *ms*

1. Cap. I . . . Mensurabilis *om ms* **3.** et quia *pro* sed quia *ms* actor *pro* auctor *ms*

1. Cap. II . . . mensurabili *om ms*

---

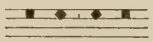
1. Cap. II cf. NS 66, 4-7

1. (Cap. III DE NOVA ARTE)

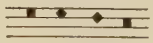
2. De nova arte quam Philippus de Vitriaco nuper invenit, dicam hoc modo. 3. Primo a brevibus tanquam a simplicioribus inchoabo. 4. Postea dicam de semibrevibus, postea de minimis, tandem vero de simiminimis.

5. Sciendum est quod sicut in veteri arte est, ita in nova. 6. Sed in veteri arte longa ante longam valet tria tempora, et sic brevis ante brevem valet tres semibreves; et hoc de modo perfecto intelligendum est. 7. Ita sicut se habet brevis ad longam, ita semibrevis ad brevem, et minima ad semibrevem.

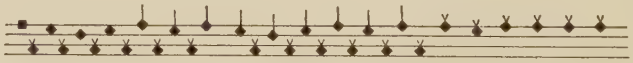
8. Sed sic se habet brevis ad longam in veteri arte quod quando sola brevis praecedit vel sequitur longam, longa non valet nisi duo tempora; ergo sic erit in proposito, quod quando sola semibrevis sequitur solam brevem vel praecedit, brevis non valet nisi duas partes unius temporis, scilicet duas semibreves, ut hic.



9. Quando duae breves in veteri arte ponuntur inter duas longas, secunda dicitur altera et valet duo tempora; sic in nova quando duae semibreves ponuntur inter duas breves, secunda illarum semibrevium duas semibreves valet, ut patet in hoc exemplo.



10. Descendendo breviter ad divisionem brevis notulae, sciendum est quod brevis notula perfecta valens unum tempus dividitur in tres semibreves aequales. 11. Et quaelibet illarum semibrevium subdividitur in tres minimas; et quaelibet illarum minimarum dividitur iterum in duas semiminimas aequales, si possent dici, ut hic.



---

1. Cap. III . . . arte *om ms* **2.** hoc do modo *pro* hoc modo *ms* **9.** in veteri arte *om ms* in nova *om ms* **11.** inter *pro* in tres *ms*

---

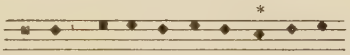
1. Cap. III cf. TI 46, 18-21
5-8. cf. NS 63, 22-28.
9. cf. TI 46, 36-41 et NS 63, 13-18.
10-11. cf. TI 46, 22-24, NS 64, 13-16, AN Cap. XXII De majore tempore perfecto

12. Breve tempus imperfectum dividitur in duas semibreves aequales, et quaelibet illarum semibrevium dividitur in tres minimas, et quaelibet illarum minimarum subdividitur in duas semiminimas iterum, si possent dici, ut hic.

13. Primo posset quaerere aliquis ignorans quae vocetur minima et quae semiminima: ad quod breviter dico quod semibrevis recte caudata a parte superiori vocatur minima, ut hic

et minima recte bis caudata a parte superiori vocatur semiminima.

14. Item sicut videmus in veteri arte quod quando sola brevis sequitur longam, vel quando plures quam tres sequuntur, illa longa non valet nisi duo tempora, nisi apponatur signum perfectionis, sic est in nova arte quod eodem modo, quando sola semibrevis sequitur brevem, vel quando plures quam tres semibreves sequuntur, illa brevis non valet nisi duas semibreves, ut patet hic.



15. Et eodem modo quando sola minima sequitur semibrevem, vel quando plures quam tres sequuntur semibrevem praedictam, semibrevis non valet nisi duas minimas, ut patet hic.

16. Et sic apparet utiliter cuilibet intuenti quot notulae apponantur pro uno tempore, licet ibi puncti non ponantur, et si semiminimae inveniantur, duae semiminimae computantur pro sola minima, quia semiminimae non possunt poni impares, ut patet in hoc exemplo sequenti.

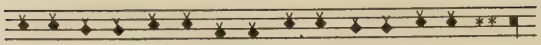
---

14. quod illa longa *pro* illa longa *ms* opponatur *pro* apponatur *ms* ut patet *pro* ut patet hic *ms* **17.** semi temporis *pro* semibrevis *ms*

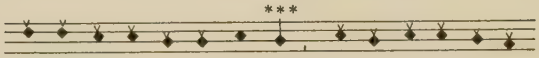
---

12. cf. TI 48, 45-46, NS 64, 16-19: *in illis opusculis definitur minimum tempus imperfectum* (cf. AN Cap. XXIII). *Hic autem describitur majus tempus imperfectum* (cf. AN Cap. XXIV)

13. cf. TI 48, 47-48, NS 64, 19-21

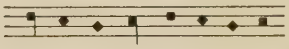


17. Item nota quod si aliqua semibrevis inter tales semiminimas reperitur, computanda est pro tribus minimis, nisi sola minima sequatur; tunc enim non valet nisi duas minimas, ut patet hic.

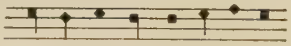


1. (Cap. IV DE NOTULIS AEQUIVOCIS)

2. Et sic apparet quod notulae et pausae sunt aequivocae. 3. Nota quod omnis semibrevis notula est aequivoca ad hoc quod potest valere, sex vel quinque vel tres vel duas minimas. 4. Aequivoca distinguitur ab adjunctis: pro tanto dicendum est quod quando duae semibreves ponuntur inter duas longas vel duas breves, secunda illarum valet sex minimas, ut hic,



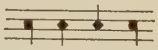
nisi prima signetur a parte inferiori, ut hic



quia tunc prima valet sex minimas.

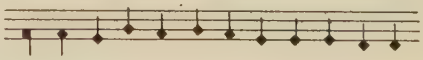
5. Unde dico quod talis semibrevis notula caudata a parte inferiori est aequivoca, quia quandoque valet sex minimas, ut patet hic,

quandoque vero quinque, ut patet hic,



quandoque vero valet tres, ut patet hic,

quandoque vero valet duas, ut hic patet.

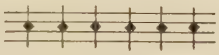


---

1. Cap. IV . . . aequivocis *om ms* 2. et si *pro* et sic *ms* 4. vel duas breves *om ms* cf. NS 64, 7-9 5. sex minimas ut patet *pro* sex minimas ut patet hic *ms* quinque ut patet exemplum *pro* quinque ut patet hic *ms*

1. (Cap. V DE DRAGMA)

2. Item nota quod quaedam sunt semibreves quae caudantur a parte superiori et inferiori, ut patet hic.

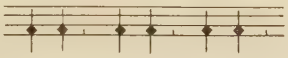


3. Et tales notulae sic caudatae dragmae vocantur, gallice fuises, et non possunt aliquo modo valere nisi duas minimas. 4. Quod sic probatur, quia sicut se habet unitas ad perficiendum numerum id est majorem numerum, sic minima ad semibrevem. 5. Sed sic se habet numerus quia minor numerus praepositus diminuit ipsum numerum, secundum quod ipsemet valet. 6. Sic est in proposito, quia talis notula ex propria natura ejus valet tres minimas, scilicet quando est caudata a parte inferiori; sed quando est caudata a parte superiori, hoc generaliter est unum signum minimitatis. A proposito non valet nisi duas minimas, quia quando apponitur tali notulae cauda a parte superiori quasi minima apponitur.

7. Sed quod minima ponitur sic probatur: quia quod primo construitur, illud est primum; sed quando aliquis facit notulam talem, primo facit corpus obliquum et postea facit desursum exilem tractum trahando deorsum

et sic patet quod minima praeponitur et quod hic quasi minor numerus praeponitur majori.

8. Unde si talem dragmam sequitur pausula, non valebit nisi solam minimam, ut hic.



---

1. Cap. V De Dragma *om ms* **4.** et massam *pro* id est majorem *ms* **5.** sic habet *pro* sic se habet *ms* seu massam numerum *pro* secundum *ms* **6.** sed quando . . . superiori *om ms* **7.** ponatur *pro* ponitur *ms* praeponatur *pro* praeponitur *ms* **8.** dragmem *pro* dragmam *ms*

2-3. cf. TI 48, 52-54; *etiam* Anonymus dictus Th. de Campo, "De musica mensurabili" Couss. III, 186a: Alii quidam praedictas (notas) signaverunt deorsum et desursum, dantes talibus notulis valorem semibrevis imperfectae, prout in rondelle Douce dame d'amours. Hae parum fuerunt in usu, et adhuc a quibusdam ponuntur quae ab ipsis Dragma vocantur, gallice Fusiel — *vel* Jacobus, "Speculum Musicae" lib. 7 Couss. II 409a: Alii tam superius quam inferius ipsas (semibreves) caudabant easque dragmis similes dragmas nominabant.

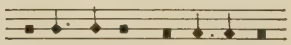
5. *Eadem regula reperitur in* AN Cap. XV *in margine. Vide etiam* MD XI, 1957 p. 21, note.

1. (Cap. VI DE LIGATURIS)

2. Item in veteri arte vidimus quod quando sola brevis ligatur cum duplici longa, illa duplex longa non valet nisi quinque tempora, ut hic patet.

3. Item sic est in proposito quod quando sola semibrevis ligatur cum simplici longa valente duo tempora perfecta partita in sex semibreves aequales, illa longa praedicta non valebit nisi quinque semibreves ut patet hic.

4. Et sic est in imperfecto modo, quando sola minima ligatur cum brevi valente sex minimas, illa brevis non valet nisi quinque minimas, ut patet hic.

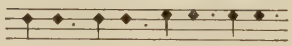


2. (Cap. VII DE PRONUNTIATIONE MINIMARUM ET SEMIBREVIUM IN TEMPORE PERFECTO)

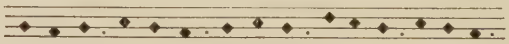
2. Tandem de pronuntiatione minimarum et semibrevium dicendum est.

3. Unde notandum est quod quando duae semibreves ponuntur pro uno tempore in modo perfecto, secunda debet esse major, et sic valebit sex minimas, ut hic,

nisi prima signetur, quia tunc est aequivoca, ut dictum est supra, et valet sex minimas, ut hic.



4. Quando autem ponuntur tres, omnes sunt aequales, ut hic,

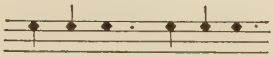


---

1. Cap. VI De ligaturis *om ms* **2.** arte *om ms* **3.** sola brevis *pro* sola semibrevis *ms* longa *pro* ligatur *ms* **4.** ut patet *pro* ut patet hic *ms*

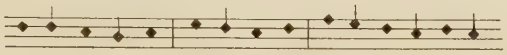
1. Cap. VII . . . perfecto *om ms* **3.** quando *om ms* **4.** *post* quinque minimas, ut hic *legitur in margine* verte, *quia exemplum verso reperitur*

nisi prima signetur a parte inferiori, et tunc prima illa valet quinque minimas, ut hic,

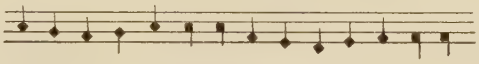


et secunda solam minimam, tertia tres minimas.

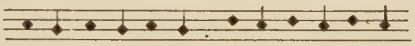
5. Quando quinque ponuntur, primae quatuor valent sex minimas et ultima tres, ut hic patet,



nisi media illarum signetur, et tunc illa signata valebit quinque minimas, ut hic apparet (exemplum).

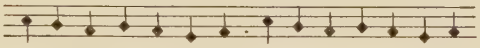


6. Quando sex ponuntur, quaelibet duae valent tres minimas, ita quod prima valeat duas minimas, secunda solam minimam, ut hic patet.

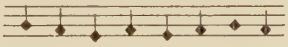


7. Quando septem ponuntur, primae tres sunt minimae, et duae mediae valent tres minimas, ut patet hic (exemplum),

nisi prima signetur, et tunc aliae sex erunt minimae.



8. Quando octo ponuntur, sex primae sunt minimae, septima valet duas minimas, et octava valet solam minimam, ut patet hic,

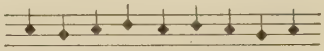


nisi aliqua illarum signetur a parte inferiori, quia tunc illa signata valebit duas minimas, et omnes aliae erunt minimae.

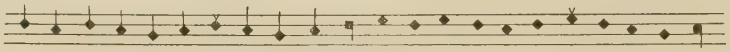
---

5. valant *pro* valent *ms* et tunc ... minimas *om ms* **6.** ita quod ... minimas *om ms* **8.** ut patet *pro* ut patet hic *ms* sex mediae *pro* aliae sex *ms*

9. Quando autem novem, omnes sunt minimae.

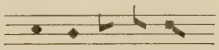


10. Et est notandum quod plures quam novem non possunt ingredi unum tempus, nisi ibi esset aliqua semiminima, et tunc difficile pronuntiari possent, ut patet hic.



1. (Cap. VIII DE PRONUNTIATIONE MINIMARUM ET SEMIBREVIUM IN TEMPORE IMPERFECTO)

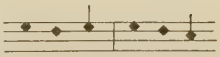
2. Sex minimae possunt ingredi tempus imperfectum. 3. Et est notandum quod quando duae [semibreves] ponuntur, ambae sunt aequales semibreves, quia quaelibet valet tres minimas, ut patet hic,



nisi prima signetur et tunc valet quinque minimas, ut patet hic,

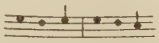
vel nisi ultima signetur ut hic.

4. Quando tres ponuntur, prima valet tres minimas, secunda duas, tertia autem solam minimam, ut hic,



nisi prima signetur, et tunc valet tres minimas, ut hic,

---

1. Cap. VIII . . . Imperfecto *om ms* *Hic ponuntur* Cap. IX *et* X *in ms* 3. et valet *pro* et tunc valet *ms* *In ms permixta vel falsa sunt exempla: haec autem duo exempla 35 et 36 desunt.* 4. *In ms legitur* Et sic patet quod notula aequivoca (*vide sequentia prius*). In tempore imperfecto valet tres minimas, secunda duas, tertia autem solam minimam, ut hic 

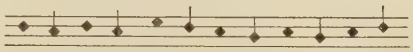
nisi prima signetur ut hic patet

---

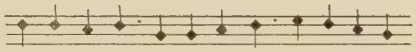
1. Cap. VIII cf. AN Cap. XV

vel nisi ultima signetur, ut hic.

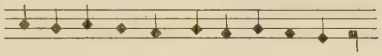
5. Quando quatuor ponuntur, primae duae valent tres minimas, tertia duas, quarta vero solam minimam, ut hic,



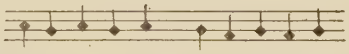
nisi prima vel ultima signetur a parte inferiori, et tunc illa signata valet tres minimas, et aliae tres erunt minimae, ut hic patet.



6. Quando quinque ponuntur, primae tres sunt minimae, quarta valet duas minimas, quinta solam minimam, ut hic,

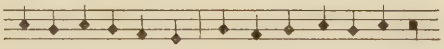


nisi prima signetur, quia tunc valebit duas minimas, et omnes aliae erunt minimae, ut patet hic.



7. Et sic patet quod notula aequivoca . . . (vide sequentia prius).

8. Quando sex ponuntur, omnes sunt minimae, ut hic apparet: exemplum:



9. Et notandum est quod plures minimae quam sex non possunt ingredi unum tempus imperfectum bono modo. Et si plures fuerint, oportet quod sint semiminimae; tunc difficile pronuntiari possent, ut hic.

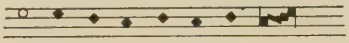
---

quando tres ponuntur, prima valet tres minimas

5. primae duae valent tres minimas: *id est, prima duas, secunda solam minimam valet, ut dicit* AN Cap. XV, 4 *et ut patet in exemplo* **9.** tunc erit difficile pronuntiari posset *pro* tunc difficile pronuntiari possent *ms Post hanc figuram reperitur* "Explicit ars" *in ms*

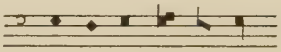
1. (Cap. IX DE SIGNIS TEMPORUM PERFECTORUM ET IMPERFECTORUM)

2. Ad designandum tempus perfectum ponitur circulus rotundus, quia circulus rotundus est figura perfecta, ut hic patet.



3. Unde notandum est quod quando talis circulus reperitur, signum est quod tempus semper est perfectum in se, id est quod partitur in tres semibreves aequales. 4. Quod autem sit perfectum probatur sic: illud est perfectum quod habet principium, medium et finem. Sed tempus perfectum, cum partitur in tres semibreves aequales, videtur habere quodam modo principium, medium et finem; ergo est perfectum. Et e converso tempus imperfectum est quod aliquo istorum caret.

5. Unde tempus imperfectum est quando non dividitur nisi in duas semibreves tantum, et sic caret una illarum. Unde ad designandum ejus imperfectionem ponitur semicirculus ut hic.



1. (Cap. X DE NOTULIS RUBEIS)

2. Rubeae notulae ponuntur duabus de causis in motetis, vel quia canuntur alterius mensurae quam nigrae, vel quia dicuntur in octava loci ubi suppositae sunt. Explicit ars.

---

1. Cap. IX . . . imperfectorum *om ms* 4. perfectum quod aliquo *pro* imperfectum quod aliquo *ms*

---

1. Cap. IX cf. AN Cap. XVI
1. Cap. X cf. AN Cap. XIX *et* TI 52, 22-23

DATIERBARE BALLADEN DES SPÄTEN 14. JAHRHUNDERTS, I

URSULA GÜNTHER

Die musikalische Entwicklung, die sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich vollzogen hat, bedarf dringend einer genaueren Untersuchung. Da die Manuskripte dieser Epoche aber stets das Repertoire eines grösseren Zeitraumes überliefern, kann nur eine bewusste Beschränkung auf Analysen einzelner datierbarer Werke zur Klärung des Stilwandels führen.

Bis zum Tode Machauts (1377) sind keine mehrstimmigen Chansons mit wirklich komplizierter Rhythmik und ungewöhnlicher Notation nachweisbar [1]. Eine gewisse Lockerung des metrischen Gleichmasses und ein deutliches Streben nach rhythmischer Abwechslung ist zwar schon bei den Spätwerken Machauts und in noch stärkerem Masse bei den Liedern seiner Zeitgenossen spürbar, jedoch ohne dass deswegen schwer darstellbare Synkopen und neue kaudierte Notenformen zur Anwendung kommen. Die Minima scheint bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt überall kleinster Notenwert zu sein. Seine Länge bleibt auch bei den nur selten auftretenden Taktwechseln stets konstant. Konfliktrhythmen ergeben sich daher allenfalls unter den grösseren Werten (Sbr. und Br. [2]). In den meisten Fällen aber werden t. und pr. innerhalb eines Werkes nicht gewechselt.

[1] U. Günther, *Der musikalische Stilwandel der französischen Liedkunst in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an Virelais, Balladen und Rondeaux von Machaut sowie datierbaren Kantilenensätzen seiner Zeitgenossen und direkten Nachfolger,* Diss. Hamburg 1957 (ungedr.), S. 205 ff.

[2] Die häufig wiederkehrenden termini technici werden in folgender Weise abgekürzt:

Ball.	Ballade	Mot.	Motetus
Br.	Brevis	p.	perfectus, -a, -um
Ca.	Cantus	pr.	prolatio
Ct.	Contratenor	Rond.	Rondeau
Hs., Hss.	Handschrift, -en	Sbr.	Semibrevis
i.	imperfectus, -a, -um	Smin.	Semiminima
Lo.	Longa	subpr.	subprolatio
ma.	maior	t.	tempus
mi.	minor	T.	Takt
Min.	Minima	Ten.	Tenor
mo.	modus	Tr.	Triplum

Ob die stilistischen Eigenheiten der Werke aus der Machaut-Zeit zu Datierungszwecken herangezogen werden können und auf welche Kriterien dabei besonderer Wert gelegt werden muss, soll hier durch einen Vergleich mit Kompositionen geprüft werden, die bald nach dem Tode Machauts entstanden sind.

Das uns überlieferte Chanson-Repertoire aus dem letzten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts ist wesentlich reichhaltiger als das der Machaut-Zeit. Diese Tatsache ist einerseits darauf zurückzuführen, dass umfangreiche französische oder französisch-italienische Manuskripte aus dieser Zeit erhalten geblieben sind, hängt andererseits aber auch damit zusammen, dass diese Hss. (*PR II, Ch, Mod, P* und *FP* [3]) kaum noch Motetten und Messsätze enthalten. Die Liedformen Vir. und Rond., vor allem aber die zahlenmässig weit überwiegenden Balladen haben eindeutig die Führung übernommen.

Glücklicherweise werden neben der schon früher beliebten Liebeslyrik nun auch Balladentexte vertont, die sich nach alter Motettenart auf wichtige historische Ereignisse beziehen. Dadurch kann man in einigen Fällen die Entstehungszeit der Stücke erschliessen. Die stilkritischen Untersuchungen dieser Abhandlung müssen aber leider auf Balladen beschränkt bleiben, weil derartige Anspielungen weder bei Virelais noch bei Rondeaux zu finden sind.

Einige der datierbaren Werke werden in *PR II* und *Mod,* die meisten aber nur in *Ch* überliefert. Auf zwei sehr wichtige Textbeziehungen hat schon L. Delisle in der ersten Beschreibung dieser Hs. [4] hingewiesen: "Fuions de ci", *Ch* 11, beklagt den 1382 erfolgten Tod der Eleonora von Aragonien (Gattin von Johann I); "En seumeillant", *Ch* 20, erwähnt die in den Jahren 1388/89 von Johann I von Aragonien unternommene Expedition nach Sardinien.

Weitere Datierungen sind von G. Reaney erschlossen worden: Es gelang ihm wahrscheinlich zu machen, dass *Ch* 50 zu Ehren der Hochzeit zwischen Jean, dem Herzog von Berry, und Jeanne de Boulogne geschrieben wurde, dass kurz vor diesem Fest, welches man am 25. Mai 1389 in der Nähe von Avignon feierte, *Ch* 21 und kurz nachher *Ch* 19 entstanden sein muss und dass auch die einander eng berührenden Texte von *Ch* 24 und *Ch* 80, die den gleichen Fürsten huldigen, um 1389 zu datieren sind [5].

[3] *PR II* = Paris, Bibl. Nat., n.a. frç. 6771, 2. Teil; *Ch* = Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047; *Mod* = Modena, Bibl. Estense M. 5. 24 (olim Lat. 568); *P* = Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. it. 568; *FP* = Florenz, Bibl. Naz. Panciat. 26.

[4] *Institut de France, Le Musée Condé, Chantilly, Le cabinet des livres, Manuscrits.* Bd. 2, Paris 1900, S. 277-303, insbesondere S. 280.

[5] G. Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly, Musée Condé 1047". In: *Musica Disciplina* VIII, 1954, S. 76/77.

Obgleich eine ganze Reihe von Kantilenensätzen hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts erwähnen, ist eine genaue zeitliche Einordnung dieser Stücke, abgesehen von den genannten 7 Balladen, bisher nicht gelungen. Z.B. ist bei den Werken, die Gaston Phébus, den berühmten Grafen von Foix und Béarn, feiern, eine Entstehung vor 1380 zwar unwahrscheinlich, aber doch nicht ausgeschlossen, denn er lebte von 1331 bis 1391 [6]. Interessant sind in diesem Zusammenhang lediglich drei Stücke, die sich auf Papst Clemens VII beziehen, da dessen Pontifikat sich von 1378 bis 1394 erstreckte, die Sätze also sicher in diesem Zeitraum komponiert wurden. Es handelt sich im einzelnen um folgende Balladen: "Inclite flos", *Ch* 62, f. 41, *Mod* f. 15 [7]; "Par les bons", *Ch* 71, f. 45v., *Mod* f. 31 [8]; "Courtois et sages", *PR II,* f. 54, *Mod* f. 35 [9].

Für die stilkritische Untersuchung stehen also insgesamt 10 Kompositionen zur Verfügung, die nach 1380 bzw. 1378 entstanden sein müssen. Im Gegensatz zu den Werken der Machaut-Zeit sind in fast allen Fällen die Namen der Komponisten bekannt. Einige von diesen tauchen sogar mehrfach auf. Daher wird die Reihenfolge der Analysen so gewählt, dass die sechs um 1389 entstandenen Stücke zwar nach der auf 1382 datierbaren Ball. und die sich auf Clemens VII beziehenden Werke erst an letzter Stelle untersucht werden, trotzdem aber Lieder eines Komponisten hintereinander erscheinen. Diese Anordnung zeigt auch die nachfolgende Tabelle, aus welcher die jeweiligen Konkordanzen, Komponistennamen und Editionen der Stücke zu ersehen sind.

[6] G. Reaney, Artikel "Gaston Phébus", *MGG,* Bd. 4, Sp. 1441-1444.
[7] Vgl. hierzu L. Delisle, a.a.O., S. 281 und G. Reaney, a.a.O.S. 71.
[8] Vgl. hierzu G. Reaney, a.a.O., S. 82/83.
[9] Vgl. G. Reany, Artikel "Egidius de Murino", *MGG,* Bd. 3, Sp. 1171.

Analyse Nr.	Textanfang	Konkordanztabelle			Komponist	Edition	
		Ch	*Mod*	*PR II*		Ubertragung	Faksimile
1	Fuions de ci	11, f. 17	f. 14v. f. 15	f. 61v.	*Ch:* Selenches Jacob *Mod:* Selesses Jacopinus *PR II:* anonym	Apel [10], Nr. 47	Gennrich [12], Tafel IX (*Ch*)
2	En seumeillant	20, f. 21v.			Trebor	Apel [10], Nr. 44	Gennrich [12], Tafel XII
3	Passerose de beaute	19, f.21			Trebor	Apel [10], Nr. 41	Gennrich [12], Tafel XI
4	S'aincy estoit	50, f. 36			Solage	Apel [10], Nr. 34	Apel [10], Tafel IV
5	Calextone, qui fut	80, f. 50			Solage	Apel [10], Nr. 33	
6	Corps femenin	24, f. 23v.			Solage	Apel [10], Nr. 32	
7	Roses et lis	21, f. 22			Magister Egidius	Günther [13], Nr. 8	Gennrich [12], Tafel XIII *MGG,* Bd. 3, Sp. 1169 unvollst.
8	Courtois et sages	—	f. 35	f. 54	Magister Egidius	Apel [10], Nr. 57 nach *Mod*	
9	Inclite flos	62, f. 41	f. 15		*Ch:* Mayhuet de Joan *Mod:* anonym	Günther [13], Nr. 9 nach *Mod*	
10	Par les bons	71, f. 45v.	f. 31		*Mod:* Phylipoctus de Caserta *Ch:* anonym	Wolf [11], Bd. 3 Nr. 66 nach *Mod* Günther [13], Nr. 10 nach *Ch*	Wolf [11], Bd. 2 Nr. 66 (*Mod*)

[10] W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century.* Cambridge, Mass. 1950.

[11] J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation von 1250-1460.* 3 Bd., Leipzig 1904.

[12] Fr. Gennrich, *Abriss der Mensuralnotation des XIV. Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts.* Nieder-Modau 1948.

[13] U. Günther, *Zehn datierbare Kompositionen der ars nova,* Schriftenreihe des musikwissenschaftlichen Instituts der Universität Hamburg, Heft II, 1959.

EINZELANALYSEN

1. *Fuions de ci*

Überlieferung: Ch 11, f. 17, Komponist: Selenches Jacob [14]; *Mod* f. 14v. und 15, Komponist: Selesses Jacopinus; *PR II* f. 61v., anonym. Der Text beklagt den 1382 erfolgten Tod der Gattin Johanns I, Eleonore von Aragon.

Edition: W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century.* Cambridge/Mass. 1950, S. 77/78 (Nr. 47), (Musik nach *Mod,* Text nach *Ch,* die allerdings nur geringfügigen Varianten sind nicht vollständig verzeichnet); Faksimile: Fr. Gennrich, *Abriss der Mensuralnotation des XIV. Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts.* Nieder-Modau 1948, Tafel IX (*Ch*).

Analyse: Alle drei Stimmen dieser Ball. sind überwiegend in schwarzer Mensuralnotation mit zweizeitiger pr.-Bewegung geschrieben. W. Apel hat das Stück einheitlich im t. p. übertragen, obgleich rote Longen und Breven in allen drei Stimmen, allerdings nie gleichzeitig, zur Anwendung kommen. Das geschieht immer dort, wo 4 Sbr.-Werte zu einer Note zusammengefasst werden oder eine von zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Breven synkopische Stellung hat, also nur bei Rhythmen, die im t. p. nicht darstellbar sind, sondern eindeutig t. i., z.T. auch mo. i. erkennen lassen, weil Sbr.- und Min.-Bewegung hier nicht vorkommen. In *PR II* sind statt roter Noten hohle schwarze gesetzt.

In der vorliegenden Edition entsteht der Eindruck, als seien die drei Stimmen streckenweise nicht einem gemeinsamen Metrum unterworfen. Ein besonders gutes Beispiel hierfür bieten die Takte 2 - 10: Die von Apel eingezeichneten Taktstriche werden in diesem Abschnitt dreimal in allen drei Stimmen, zweimal von zwei Stimmen und einmal nur vom Ca. synkopisch überbrückt, der im übrigen in der ganzen Phrase keine Note auf dem ersten Schlag des Taktes bringt. Die Ca.-Phrasen schliessen — wie auch im weiteren Verlauf des Stückes — auf dem 2. oder 3. Viertel eines Taktes mit einer Min. oder Sbr., der jeweils eine Pause folgt. Die musikalische Logik des dreistimmigen Satzes wird aber erst dann deutlich, wenn man alle Partien, bei denen in einer der drei Stimmen Rotschreibung auftritt, und häufig auch noch die benachbarten Takte im t. i., zuweilen sogar mit mo. i., notiert. Der oben als Beispiel herausgegriffene Anfangsabschnitt bis T. 10 bestände dann aus drei 4/4-Takten, einem 3/4- bzw. 6/8-Takt und nochmals drei 4/4-Takten. Bei Anwendung dieses Verfahrens entfallen hier und an anderen Stellen des Stückes (z.B. in den Takten 27-32) viele

[14] Jacob de Selenches ist 1378 in Spanien nachweisbar. Alles bisher über diesen Komponisten Bekannte wurde von G. Reaney (*Musica Disciplina* VIII, 1954, S. 74-76) zusammengefasst.

der Br.-Synkopen, vor allem in den Unterstimmen, die relativ einfacher sind als der Ca.. Ausserdem treffen einige Anfänge und deutlich kadenzierende Schlüsse von Ca.-Phrasen so auf den ersten Schlag eines Taktes und zwar stets zusammen mit neueintretenden Noten in den Unterstimmen. Bei einer derartig revidierten Umschrift hätten auch melodisch übereinstimmend oder ähnlich gebaute Floskeln die einander entsprechende Stellung im Takt: z.B. wären die Takte 6/7 den Takten 23b/24b, die Takte 32/33 dem Takt 43 ähnlich.

Den im t. i. verlaufenden Abschnitten stehen Partien gegenüber, deren perfekte Gruppierung deutlich zu erkennen ist, z.B. die Takte 39-43. Unklar bleibt die Takteinteilung nur bei langen, um einen Min.-Wert verschobenen Synkopenketten, die besonders in melismatischen Ca.-Abschnitten hervortreten und sogar in zwei Stimmen gleichzeitig erscheinen. Ausser den schon bei Machaut üblichen Sbr.-Synkopen, die hier sogar in Sechserketten (in den Takten 35-37) auftreten, begegnen sowohl zwei- als auch dreizeitige Breven um den Wert einer Min. synkopisch verschoben. Da diese Notenwerte wiederum häufig mit Sbr.-Synkopen verknüpft und ausserdem auch augmentierte Semibreven mehrfach hintereinander und synkopisch verwandt werden (z.B. im Ct. ab T. 5), übersteigen die rhythmischen Komplikationen trotz gleichbleibender Min.-Bewegung diejenigen aller im vorhergehenden Kapitel behandelten Werke. Wichtig ist im Gegensatz zum Stil der Machaut-Zeit vor allem, dass t.-Gruppierungen ungleicher Länge oft miteinander wechseln, ohne sich dabei stets durch verschiedenfarbige Notation zu unterscheiden.

Dieses Verfahren und die immer länger werdenden Synkopenketten lassen darauf schliessen, dass den t.-Gruppierungen hier nicht mehr die gleiche Bedeutung zugemessen werden kann wie etwa in der Kunst Machauts, wo sich neben dem langsamen Schwinden der mo.-Einteilung nur in Ausnahmefällen Unregelmässigkeiten in der t.-Einteilung bemerkbar machen. Die Tendenz zur Auflösung starrer metrischer Schemata, die sich schon in den vorhergehenden Jahrzehnten, allerdings vornehmlich bei den mo.-Gruppierungen, bemerkbar machte, wirkt sich bei diesem Werk von 1382 deutlicher als zuvor auch auf die bisher kleinste Einteilung, den t.-Takt aus.

Nach dem Vorhergesagten ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass auch die Wiederkehr gleicher rhytmischer Motive in dieser Ball. weitgehend vermieden wird. Die einzigen Analogien ergeben sich im Ca. zwischen den Takten 28/29 und 30/31 und bei den Synkopenketten, die vielfach in der Form ♪♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♪♩, aber auch mit 5 oder 6 Sbr.-Synkopen auftreten. Gerade innerhalb dieser synkopischen Phrasen sind die Ähnlichkeiten der Melodik aber auffälliger als die der Rhythmik. Eine im wesentlichen aus zwei Terzschritten (von f, e oder d aus abwärts) bestehende Tonfolge tritt in den Schlussmelismen aller Abschnitte zweimal

hintereinander und ausserdem T. 5 und T. 44 beginnend auf. In anderer Rhythmisierung erscheint sie in T. 16 und T. 47. Die Unterstimmen haben weder zu den rhythmischen noch zu den melodischen Motiven des Ca. eine engere Beziehung.

Abgesehen von dem deutlichen Wandel im rhythmischen und motivischen Aufbau sind gegenüber den Balladen der Machaut-Zeit keine Veränderungen festzustellen: Der nur mit einem b versehene Ca. liegt im Umfang eine Quinte über den mit b- und es-Vorzeichnung notierten Unterstimmen, die einander oftmals kreuzen, zuweilen aber auch die Singstimme überschneiden. Akzidentien (h und fis als Leittöne zu c und g), sind nur in *Mod,* also in der offenbar jüngsten Version des Stückes, vermerkt. Im Zusammenklang der drei Stimmen ergeben sich Akkorde mit B-, C-, D-, Es- und F-dur- sowie solche mit c-, d-, g- und a-moll-Charakter.

Die Gesamtgliederung des Werkes wird — wie stets — vom Ball.-Text geregelt, der nur dem Ca. unterlegt ist und aus 7 überwiegend weiblich endenden Zehnsilblern besteht. Stollen, Abgesang und Refrain bilden musikalisch deutlich voneinander abgetrennte Teile, die jeweils nach einer kurzen syllabischen Anfangspartie in ausschliesslich melismatische Vortragsweise übergehen. 2. Stollen und Refrain stimmen in den letzten 9 Takten überein und enden mit einem Quint-Oktav-Klang auf b, der auch bei weniger auffälligen Kadenzierungen oft benutzt wird. Im Abgesang ist die Ca.-Melodik zwar in den letzten 6 Takten dem 1. Stollen ähnlich gebildet, eine genaue klangliche Übereinstimmung erreichen hier jedoch nur die beiden Abschlussakkorde (Dreiklänge auf d). Ausserdem kommen am Ende der kürzeren, nicht an die Textzeilen gebundenen Ca.-Phrasen (meist 3-5 Takte lang, aber durch die Unterstimmen miteinander verkettet) auch Teilschlüsse auf c vor.

2. *En seumeillant*

Überlieferung: Ch 20, f. 21v., Komponist: Trebor [15]. Da der Text eine im Jahre 1389 tatsächlich ausgeführte Expedition Johannes I nach Sardinien als bevorstehend erwähnt, muss die Ball. vor diesem Termin, also wohl 1388 entstanden sein [16]. Der Refraintext stimmt mit dem Anfang des Deschamps-Textes der Ball. auf den Tod Machauts überein [17].

Edition: W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century.* Cambridge/Mass. 1950, S. 71/72 (Nr. 44); Faksimile: Fr. Gennrich, *Abriss der Mensuralnotation des XIV. Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts.* Nieder-Modau 1948, Tafel XII.

[15] Zusammenfassendes über Trebor und seine Kompositionen gab G. Reaney in: *Musica Disciplina* VIII, 1954, S. 78.

[16] Vgl. hierzu A. Pagès, "Ballade notée en l'honneur du roi Jean Ier d'Aragon". In: *Romania* LV, 1929, S. 536-541.

[17] Vgl. hierzu U. Günther, Diss., Analyse Nr. 2, S. 174 ff.

Analyse: Die Originalnotation dieser Ball. lässt eindeutig pr. mi.-Rhythmik erkennen und zunächst auf imperfekte t.-Gruppierung schliessen, da weder Alteration noch Imperfektion zur Anwendung kommen und Breven nur dort dreizeitig sind, wo ihnen ein Augmentationspunkt folgt. Eine das ganze Stück einheitlich durchlaufende t.-Einteilung ist jedoch nicht durchführbar. W. Apel überträgt nach rein mathematischen Gesichtspunkten im t. i., behält aber am Ende des Stückes eine Sbr.-Gruppe übrig, die er dem vorletzten Takt anhängt. Auf diese Weise bekommen die musikalisch übereinstimmenden 9 letzten Takte vom 2. Stollen und vom Refrain im modernen Notenbild ein vollkommen unterschiedliches Aussehen und mehrere in der Edition durch eine Häufung von Synkopen auffallende Partien eine dem rhythmischen Impuls zuwiderlaufende Taktierung.

Der Blick für die dem Werk immanente Struktur öffnet sich erst, wenn man von den Taktstrichen der im übrigen korrekten und auch in den Emendationen (T. 19 und T. 35) gut gelungenen Übertragung absieht oder das Original betrachtet. Dabei ergibt sich eindeutig, dass auch in diesem Werk perfekte und imperfekte t.-Gruppen miteinander wechseln, ja, sogar in verschiedenen Stimmen gleichzeitig auftreten.

Besonders deutlich sind Dreiertakte z.B. in den Unterstimmen des Refrainbeginns, wo der Ten. eine Sequenz ausführt, die 5mal hintereinander den Rhythmus ♩ 𝅗𝅥 bringt. Während sich der Ct. eindeutig der Ten.-Gliederung anschliesst, zeigt der Ca. zweimal hintereinander einen Rhythmus, der t. i. mo. i. betont. Der dreizeitige Ten.-Rhythmus erscheint übrigens auch bei den Stollenanfängen mit gleicher Melodiebewegung.

Bemüht man sich, das Bild der Mensuralnotation des 14. Jahrhunderts, das derartige Parallelen immer klar hervortreten lässt, auch in der modernen Umschrift zu erhalten, also längere Notenwerte nach Möglichkeit in einem Takt unterzubringen und melodisch oder rhythmisch ähnlichen Partien auch ein ähnliches Aussehen zu verleihen, so ergibt sich eine Takteinteilung, bei der gleichzeitig alle harmonisch oder rhythmisch hervorgehobenen Akkorde auf dem ersten Schlag eines Taktes stehen.

Im einzelnen möchte ich etwa folgende Abweichungen von der Apelschen Lösung vorschlagen: T. 1-T. 6: 4mal 3/4-T.; T. 11-T. 14: 3/4-, 2/4-, 3/4-T.; T. 19-T. 21; 2mal 3/4-T.; T. 26-T. 30: 3/4-T., 2mal 2/4-T., 3/4-T.; T. 33-T. 44: 3/4-T., 2mal 2/4-T., 2mal 3/4-T., 4mal 2/4-T., 3/4-T.; T. 47-T. 49: Ca. und Ct. 3/4-T., 2/4-T., 3/4-T., Ten. aber 2mal 3/4-T., 2/4-T.; T. 52-T. 63: Ca. 3mal 4/4-T., Ten. und Ct. aber 4mal 3/4-T., anschliessend in allen Stimmen gemeinsam 3/4-T., 3mal 2/4-T., 3/4-T.; T. 66-T. 67: 3/4-T., 2/4-T.

Stellenweise wäre aber auch eine Übertragung in mo.-Takten wechselnder Länge möglich, wie sie Fr. Ludwig bei einigen vergleichbaren Machaut-Werken (z.B. Ball. 34) angewandt hat. Neue Takte hätten dann

oftmals mit einem Schlusston der Ca.-Phrasen zu beginnen (so in den Takten 4, 7, 10, 12, 15, 18, 21 und 23) und würden dadurch die musikalische Struktur des Werkes, die nur in weiteren Abständen deutliche Akzentuierungen erkennen lässt, noch besser hervorheben. Eine konsequente Durchführung dieses Prinzips ist jedoch wegen der isoliert auftretenden Dreiergruppen nicht möglich.

Die Uneinheitlichkeit der metrischen Gliederung wird durch die häufige Benutzung gleicher oder ähnlicher Rhythmen ausgeglichen. Am aufdringlichsten ist die Formel ♪♩ ♪, die sogar in allen drei Stimmen und als rhythmische Sequenz verwandt wird. Auch eine von zwei Min.-Pausen eingeschlossene Sbr.-Synkope kommt 3mal vor (in den Takten 8, 36 und 41). Der Rhythmus ♪♩ ♩ ♪ erscheint im Ca. stets kurz vor den Hauptkadenzen und ausserdem in Ten. und Ct.; der Ct. benutzt daneben auch bis zu 5 synkopierende Semibreven im Anschluss an eine augmentierte (vgl. T. 22). Der Ten. verläuft dagegen vorwiegend in einfacher Sbr.-Br.-Bewegung und zeigt ausser der langen Sequenz im Refrain keine Besonderheiten.

Im Ca. erscheinen längere Synkopenketten nur in den Takten 12-17. Hier handelt es sich im Grunde zweimal um dieselbe Wertfolge ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♪ | ♩(♩), nur ist bei der Wiederholung die erste Note durch eine Sbr.-Pause ersetzt (in der Edition in 2 Min.-Pausen aufgelöst). Auch die ausgedehnte rhythmische Parallele, die sich zwischen den Takten 6-10 und 39 (2. Viertel) - 43 ergibt, ist in der Apelschen Übertragung nicht deutlich zu erkennen. Neben den synkopischen Rhythmen spielt die einfache Min.-Bewegung eine untergeordnete Rolle. Erwähnenswert ist nur die Folge 7 ♪ ♫ ♫ | (♩) (in den Ca.-Takten 5/6, 21-24 anfangs auch melodisch sequenzierend, 58-61).

Trotz vieler rhythmischer Entsprechungen sind melodische Übereinstimmungen, abgesehen vom Refrain-Rücklauf, selten. Mehrfach erscheint im Ca. nur die Floskel ♪♩ ♪♩ (T. 9-T. 12, T. 27/28 = T. 62/63). Die Ca.-Melodie ist weniger sprunghaft geführt als die zuweilen sehr unsanglichen Unterstimmen und liegt — wie üblich — im Ambitus eine Quinte über diesen. Stimmkreuzungen kommen mit dem Ca. selten, zwischen den Unterstimmen ständig vor.

Trotz unterschiedlichen Umfanges sind alle drei Stimmen einheitlich mit genereller b-Vorzeichnung notiert. Im Ca. werden alle Töne der chromatischen Skala mit Ausnahme von es benutzt (Apel nimmt auch diesen Ton T. 2 an). Fis und gis treten nur als Leittöne, h und cis (T. 40) sogar als Zieltöne auf. Besonders interessant ist die Akzidentiensetzung in den Takten 40-44: Dem deutlich durch ein Kreuz vor der Note angezeigten cis folgt direkt ein b, das vermutlich die Geltung des vorhergehenden Vorzeichens auflösen soll. Es ist jedenfalls unmöglich, dieses Erniedrigungs-

zeichen auf b zu beziehen, da im nachfolgenden Takt die chromatische Wendung h g b a auftritt. Die Beziehung eines Vorzeichens zum vorhergehenden Ton ist eindeutig in T. 30 a vorhanden, wo was Kreuz für den Leitton gis erst vor dem nachfolgenden a erscheint. In den Unterstimmen ist die Akzidentiensetzung teilweise unklar. Hier begegnen mehrfach Auflösungszeichen für h, daneben aber auch Erniedrigungszeichen, deren Beziehungston nicht ermittelt werden kann (Ten. T. 19 und T. 27, Ct. T. 37, alle in der vorliegenden Edition nicht verzeichnet). Der Refrain-Rücklauf ist im Ten. ohne die Akzidentien der Stollen notiert. Im Ct. erscheint zweimal fis als Kadenzzielton (T. 40 und T. 51). Damit sich Oktav-Zusammenklänge ergeben, muss im Ten. T. 25 = T. 62 und T. 40 ebenfalls ein fis angenommen werden. Es wäre denkbar, dass das dem fis von T. 40 folgende Erhöhungszeichen, welches Apel auf e. T. 42 bezieht, rückwirkend fis anzeigen soll, denn nach oben verschobene Vorzeichen sind auch an anderen Stellen des Stückes nachweisbar (z.B. Ten. T. 16). Der Sinn eines Auflösungszeichens für e ist jedenfalls nicht einzusehen, da im ganzen Werk kein es auftaucht.

Als Zusammenklänge ergeben sich neben den oft und an bevorzugten Stellen auftretenden Quint-Oktav-Klängen auf dem Grundton g Akkorde mit F-, G-, B-, C- und D-dur-Charakter sowie solche mit fis-, g-, a-, d-, und e-moll-Charakter.

Der Gesamtablauf des Werkes wird durch den 7zeiligen, ausschliesslich melismatisch vertonten Balladen-Text geregelt, der zu den Details der Ca.-Melodik jedoch keine enge Beziehung hat. Stollen, Abgesang und Refrain ergeben — wie üblich — voneinander getrennte Teile. 2. Stollen und Refrain enden mit einem Quint-Oktav-Klang auf g und stimmen in den letzten 9 Takten überein. Der 1. Stollen endet einen Takt früher als der 2. und im Ten. sowie im Ca. auf a. Nur seine zwei letzten Ca.-Takte haben Ähnlichkeit mit der auf einem D-dur-Dreiklang endenden Kadenz des Abgesanges. Der Stollen-„ouvert" bekommt durch einen Ct.-Sprung zu dem unter dem Ten.-a liegenden f ein von der gewohnten Kadenzbildung so abweichendes Aussehen, dass man hier vielleicht einen Schreibfehler des Kopisten (Terzverschiebung) annehmen könnte. Die ebenfalls mit Kadenzen (auf g und fis) zusammenfallenden Reime der 2., 4. und 5. Textzeile unterbrechen den vielfach komplementärrhythmisch ineinandergreifenden Stimmfluss nicht auffällig.

Die stärksten Abweichungen vom Stil der Machaut-Zeit sind bei diesem Werk also auf rhythmischem Gebiet zu finden. Sie sind jedoch erst bei eingehender Analyse festzustellen, da weder Rotschreibung noch neue Notenzeichen auf den ersten Blick die rhythmischen Komplikationen verraten.

3. *Passerose de beaute*

Überlieferung: Ch 19, f. 21, Komponist: Trebor, auf Grund des Textes datierbar nach Mai 1389 [18].

Edition: W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century.* Cambridge/Mass. 1950, S. 65/66 (Nr. 41); Faksimile: Fr. Gennrich, *Abriss der Mensuralnotation des XIV. Jahrhunderts und der ersten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts.* Nieder-Modau 1948, Tafel XI.

Analyse: Die vorherrschende schwarze Notation zeigt in Ca. und Ten. stets pr. ma.-Bewegung an. Nur der Ct. benutzt ausser den üblichen Werten, Min., Sbr. und Br., eine unter dem Namen "dragma" bekannte Notenform (♦), welche meist in Vierergruppen auftritt, die jeweils einen zweizeitigen t.-Takt füllen. Eine Dragma hat folglich den Wert von 1½ Minimen der pr. ma.-Bewegung. In gleicher Bedeutung wird diese Notenform von drei theoretischen Abhandlungen des ausgehenden 14. Jahrhunderts erwähnt [19]. In der Praxis wurde sie auf diese Weise offenbar nur selten verwandt. J. Wolf glaubte sogar, dass ihre Anwendung nur bei Wolkenstein nachweisbar sei [20].

Ausserdem kommen in allen drei Stimmen, in Ca. und Ten. zwar seltener als im Ct., Gruppen von drei roten Semibreven vor, die statt 2 perfekter 3 imperfekte Werte setzen, also einen Wechsel vom t. i. pr. ma. zum t. p. pr. mi. herbeiführen. Da derartige Taktwechsel nie in mehreren Stimmen gleichzeitig auftreten, ergeben sich beim Zusammenspiel interessante Konfliktrhythmen (2:3 und 3:4). Besonders oft geschieht das zwischen Ca. und Ct., die beide wesentlich abwechslungsreicher gestaltet sind als der meist in schlichter Br.-Sbr.-Bewegung verlaufende Ten.. Die Rhythmik des Ca. wird darüber hinaus an einigen Stellen durch drei- bzw. zweizeitige Semibreven in synkopischer Stellung noch komplizierter. Trotzdem ist der Gesamtablauf des Stückes verhältnismässig einheitlich, da sich trotz Dragmen und Rotschreibung meist t.-Takte gleicher Länge ergeben. Das t. i. ist zwar rechnerisch durchführbar, entspricht aber nicht überall dem Duktus der Stimmen.

Bei Berücksichtigung der durch melodische Entsprechungen und konsonante Zusammenklänge hervorgehobenen Taktschwerpunkte ergeben sich folgende Abweichungen von der ausschliesslich nach mathematischen Gesichtspunkten vorgenommenen Übertragung Apels: T. 22-T. 33: 3/4-T., 5mal 2/4-T., 3mal 3/4-T.; T. 51-T. 53: 2mal 3/4-T.. Dadurch werden die

[18] Zur Begründung der von Apels Vermutungen (a.a.O., S. 23 [15]) abweichenden Datierung vgl. G. Reaney, *Musica Disciplina* VIII, 1954, S. 76/77.

[19] Vgl. J. Wolf, *Geschichte der Mensuralnotation . . .*, Bd. 1, Tabelle S. 302 und weitere Einzelheiten S. 290 und S. 297.

[20] A.a.O., S. 355.

Breven der Takte 24-26 aus einer synkopischen in eine normale Stellung versetzt. Ausserdem fallen — analog den übrigen Partien — die aus 3 roten Noten oder 4 Dragmen bestehenden Gruppen jeweils in einen Takt. Auch bekommen die vor den Stollenkadenzen im Ca. auftretenden rhythmischen Sequenzen und das in den Takten 58/59 wiederkehrende Motiv aus den Takten 28/29 eine Taktstellung, welche die Entsprechungen auch im Notenbild deutlich werden lässt.

Rhythmische Analogien spielen sowohl im Ca. als auch im Ct. eine grosse Rolle: Im Ct. fällt besonders die aus der auch sonst häufigen Folge ♫₂ ♫₂ | ♩· ♩· gebildete Sequenz in den Takten 3-8 auf. Eine ebenfalls nur rhythmische Wiederholung zeigen die Takte 50-54. Der Ca. bringt neben rhythmischen Sequenzierungen (z. B. in den Takten 6/7, 15-20 und 30-32) auch melodische (T. 48-51).

Bei mehreren zu einem Quint-Oktav-Klang auf d führenden Kadenzen erscheinen im Ca. gleiche oder ähnliche melodische Wendungen (so in den Takten 4/5, 21, 43/44, 53/54 und 64/65). Rückgriffe auf längere Melodieabschnitte enthält nur der Refrain, der sogar ausschliesslich mit schon bekanntem Material arbeitet: Er beginnt mit dem Rhythmus ♩· ♩·| 𝅗𝅥·, der auch bei den Kadenzen in den Takten 9/10, 33b/34 und 46/47 auffällt, und leitet durch eine rhythmische Sequenz zu dem aus T. 27/28 bekannten Motiv über; dann folgen die Ca.-Melodie der Takte 40-42 und anschliessend der vollständige, aus den Takten 3-10 bekannte Abschnitt, der nur im Ct. leicht variiert ist. Mit dem zum Grundton b führenden Stollenschluss stimmt der Refrain nur in den letzten 2-3 Takten überein. Zwischen den Halbschlüssen ergibt sich lediglich eine harmonische Entsprechung (Dur-Dreiklang bzw. Quint-Oktav-Klang auf d).

Der Gesamtaufbau des Stückes folgt in der üblichen Weise dem aus 7 Zeilen unterschiedlicher Länge bestehenden Balladen-Text. Dieser ist ausschliesslich melismatisch vertont. Jedoch fallen auch die Reime der 1., 3. und 5. Zeile auf eine nach b oder d führende Kadenz. Eine Textzeile setzt sich musikalisch gesehen stets aus mehreren 2-6taktigen Phrasen zusammen. Da allen Stimmen gemeinsame Melodiewendungen, wie sie in den Kantilenensätzen der Machaut-Zeit häufig auftreten, in diesem Stück ausgesprochen selten sind, Stimmkreuzungen zwischen dem Ten. und dem um eine Quinte höher liegenden Ca. nie, zwischen Ct. und Ca. nur selten vorkommen und der Ct. ausserdem durch seine sprunghafte Führung stellenweise den Charakter einer lediglich harmoniefüllenden Mittelstimme annimmt, dominiert die Singstimme in diesem Werk ganz ausgesrochen.

Quint-Oktav-Klänge auf b erscheinen in dieser Ball. überaus häufig, u.a. auch zu Beginn von Stollen und Refrain. Da sie ausserdem mehrfach durch einen Quintschritt im Ten. erreicht werden und beide Unterstimmen durchgehend es-Vorzeichnung aufweisen, wirkt das Stück in harmonischer

Hinsicht ausserordentlich geschlossen. Das B-dur des Ten. wird allerdings beeinträchtigt dadurch, dass der nur mit genereller b-Vorzeichnung versehene Ca. meist e benutzt (es erscheint nur einmal in T. 58, ist aber auch bei der Parallelstelle T. 27 auzunehmen) und dass in Ca. und Ct. ausserdem Akzidentien auftreten, deren Bedeutung nicht immer einwandfrei zu ermitteln ist [21]. Im Ct. ist T. 17 und T. 33a eindeutig fis vorgeschrieben. Daher dürften auch die im Original zwischen f und g befindlichen Erhöhungszeichen T. 57 und T. 66 (in der Edition erst T. 68) den Leitton fis anzeigen, sich also auf den vorhergehenden Ton beziehen (man vgl. den ähnlich gelagerten Fall aus Analyse 2). Im Ct. werden ausserdem wechselnd b und h benutzt. Im Ca. ist ähnliches zu vermuten. Nur stehen die Vorzeichen — wie im Ct. — nicht direkt vor der Note, auf die sie sich beziehen, sondern meist vor einer musikalisch zusammenhängenden Notengruppe, im Ca. T. 13 und T. 35 unglücklicherweise vor einem c. Wahrscheinlicher als das von Apel vorgeschlagene cis ist aber in den Takten 14, 15 und 39 ein h, zumal T. 17 wieder ein Akzidenz für b und im Ct. von T. 39 ebenfalls h erscheint. Im Zusammenklang ergeben sich so ausser Dur-Akkorden auf b, es und f wechselnd Dur- und Moll-Klänge über den Tönen c, d und g.

Deutliche Abweichungen vom Stil der Machaut-Zeit sind bei dieser Ball., abgesehen vom Dominieren der textierten Stimme, also vor allem in der differenzierteren Rhythmik und der damit verbundenen komplizierteren Notation festzustellen.

4. *S'aincy estoit*

Überlieferung: Ch 50, f. 36, Komponist: Solage [22], auf Grund des Textes, der Jean, Duc de Berry, verherrlicht, datierbar um 1389.

Edition: W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century.* Cambridge/Mass. 1950, S. 52/53 (Nr. 34); Faksimile: W. Apel, a.a.O., Tafel IV.

Analyse: Von W. Apel wurde [23] bereits darauf hingewiesen, dass die zur t.-Bezeichnung verwendeten Zahlen und Zeichen (2, 3 und o) nicht nur wenig Hilfe bieten, sondern teilweise ausgesprochen falsch verwendet sind, so dass man bei der Transkription des Stückes also ausschliesslich auf Experimente und musikalischen Spürsinn angewiesen ist. Trotzdem gelang Apel eine in den Notenwerten mit wenigen Ausnahmen eindeutige Über-

[21] Vgl. hierzu die Bemerkungen Apels: *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century.* S. 30.

[22] Über Solage, seine Werke und die Möglichkeit ihrer Datierung berichtet G. Reaney, *Musica Disciplina* VIII, 1954, S. 76/77.

[23] A.a.O., S. 8/9.

tragung, bei der Stollen und Refrain überwiegend pr. ma.-Rhythmik, die Abgesang-Stimmen durchgehend pr. mi.-Bewegung zeigen. Im leicht lesbaren Abgesang ist der Ten. ohne ersichtlichen Grund augmentiert geschrieben.

In den Stollen und im Refrain benutzen die Unterstimmen neben der pr. ma.-Bewegung, die ausser den üblichen Rhythmen auch dreizeitige Semibreven in Synkopenketten verwendet, zuweilen Dragmen in der Bedeutung von 1½ Minimen [24]. Der Ca ist in beiden Teilen offensichtlich wegen einiger komplizierter Rhythmen, die mit Semiminimawerten arbeiten — augmentiert geschrieben. Gemessen an den Werten der Unterstimmen haben die im Ca. benutzten Zeichen also folgende Bedeutung: ▪ = 6 Minimen, ▪ = 3 Minimen, ◆ = 1 Min., ↓ = ½ Min., ◆. = 1½ Minimen; bei Rotschreibung: ▪ = 2 Minimen und ◆ = 1 Min.. Fraglich ist nur die Deutung, die Apel (leider ohne Kommentar) im Ca. ab T. 22 für die Notenfolge ↑↑↑↑↓↓↓↓↓, die wie die benachbarten Partien schwarz geschrieben ist, vorschlägt: Im Gegensatz zum Vorhergehenden wird hier nämlich ↑ (statt ◆.) als Wert von 1½ Minimen und ↓ (statt ◆) als 1 Min. aufgelöst. Auch die Dragma-Gruppe (3 Noten im Werte von zusammen 4 Minimen) hat keinerlei ableitbare Beziehung zur gleichen Notenform der Unterstimmen. Da aus dem Zusammenhang jedoch eindeutig hervorgeht, dass die Notenfolge insgesamt 12 Minimen messen muss, nach Abzug der zwei ↓ also nur 11 Minimen für die beiden aus Noten gleicher Länge bestehenden Gruppen übrigbleiben, ist zu vermuten, dass es sich hier um einen in unserer Notation nicht korrekt darstellbaren Rhythmus handelt.

Apel bemüht sich, in jeder Stimme eines Abschnittes, nach Möglichkeit auch in zwei oder allen drei Stimmen, eine einheitliche t.-Gruppierung durchzuführen, weicht dabei aber an einigen Stellen von seinen eigenen Angaben [25] ab, so z.B. im Ct. des Abgesanges, wo er die gleichmässige Taktstrichsetzung (2/4-T.) mehrfach zugunsten dreiteiliger t.-Takte aufgibt, um dadurch unnötige Synkopierungen zu vermeiden. Das gleiche Übertragungsprinzip kommt auch in Ca. und Ct. des Stollenschlusses zur Anwendung. Bei den übrigen Partien sind die Taktstriche jedoch nicht nach dem gleichen Verfahren, sondern ohne Rücksicht auf die Details der Stimmführung und Motivik und daher stellenweise musikalisch wenig überzeugend gesetzt.

Eine glücklichere Lösung ist auch hier nur durch genaue Analyse der rhythmischen und melodischen Entsprechungen zu finden. So brächte z.B. im Ct. über den Takten 8-17 der Ausgabe eine Verschiebung aller Taktstriche um eine pr. ma.-Gruppe folgende Vorteile: Der Rhythmus

[24] Vgl. hierzu die Bemerkungen auf S. 49.
[25] A.a.O., S. 8.

7 ♫ ♩ ♪ | 𝅗𝅥· würde wie im Ca. (über den Takten 3 und 5) auf gutem Taktteil enden und alle nachfolgenden Br.-Synkopen würden entfallen. Mit dem Ten. ergäben sich in den Takten 10, 12, 14, 16 und 18a gemeinsame Schwerpunkte. Die Dragmen-Gruppe würde sich — wie im Ca. — genau in zwei t.-Takte eingliedern.

Weitere Korrekturen ergeben sich bei sinnvoller Taktierung des rhythmischen Ca.-Motivs ♩· 7♫ 7♫ | ♪♩(𝅗𝅥· 𝄾) (T. 20 und T. 23), das T. 14 in leichter svnkopischer Abwandlung auftritt und hier wie T. 20 genau zwei dreizeitige Takte füllt. T. 21 ergibt sich ausserdem gemeinsam mit dem Ct. ein kadenzartiger Abschluss, so dass alle drei Stimmen in den Takten 19-21 im 3/4-T. verlaufen, welcher im Ten. noch weitergeführt wird. Ca. und Ct. bringen jedoch erst nach zwei imperfekten Takten wieder einen perfekten.

Im Abgesang führt der Herausgeber in Ca. und Ct. übereinstimmend 3/4-T. durch. Der Ct. verlangt jedoch eindeutig von T. 29-T. 58 einschliesslich eine mit dem Ten. übereinstimmende Gruppierung, also überwiegend t. i., welches besonders in den rhythmisch identischen Takten 55-57 deutlich hervortritt. Wechsel zum t. p. sind nur in den Takten 33, 42 und 46 festzustellen. Der Ca. verläuft dagegen überwiegend im t. p.; nur in den Takten 29-35 würde eine den Unterstimmen parallele Takteinteilung der Wiederholung des rhythmischen Motivs 7♩ ♪ | ♫ ♫ | ♩ . besser entsprechen.

Im Refrain ist wenigstens im Ten. ab T. 66, in Ca. und Ct. ab T. 68 imperfekte Takteinteilung vorhanden. Dadurch entfällt im Ten. die Br.-Synkope. Ausserdem erhält das Motiv 7 ♫ ♩ ♪ | ♩· wieder eine dem Ca.-T. 3 entsprechende Stellung. Auch die Taktierung der Kadenz stimmt so mit dem abschliessend melodisch identischen Stollen-"clos" überein (nur der Ct. ist leicht variiert).

Zusammenfassend kann also gesagt werden, dass sich bei dieser Ball. eine ständig wechselnde, sogar in den Stimmen teilweise unterschiedliche Takteinteilung ergibt, wenn man sich bemüht, Synkopierungen, die im Original nicht vorhanden sind, zu vermeiden, akzentuierte Schlusstöne längerer musikalischer Phrasen jeweils auf den ersten Schlag nach dem Taktstrich zu bringen und gleichen Motiven dieselbe Taktstellung zu geben. Zusammengehalten werden die Stimmen hier also nicht mehr durch ein übergeordnetes Metrum, sondern lediglich durch in gleichen Abständen erfolgende Sbr.-Schläge, die in den Unterstimmen nur selten synkopisch unterbrochen werden. Der Ca. wirkt dem Rhythmus der Unterstimmen jedoch mehrfach entgegen. Das geschieht einerseits durch ausgesprochene Konfliktrhythmen (2:3 in den Takten 14-17 und 65, vermutlich noch kompliziertere Zahlenverhältnisse in den Takten 22/23), andereseits durch unregelmässig gebaute Synkopenketten, die aus Werten von 1, 2 oder sogar 1½ Minimen zusammengesetzt sind (in den Takten 9-11 und 65-67). In den Stollen wird der auch sonst zuweilen auftretende Wechsel von drei- zu

zweizeitiger Sbr.-Unterteilung besonders dadurch hervorgehoben, dass melodische Entsprechungen, teilweise Sequenzierungen, von jeweils 3 Seminimen auftreten. Trotz auffälligen und häufigen Wechsels grundverschiedener rhythmischer Bewegungen im Ca. kommen auch an anderen Stellen kurze rhythmische Sequenzierungen vor: ab T. 32 zweimal hintereinander 7♩ ♪ | ♫ ♫ | ♩, ab T. 40 zweimal hintereinander ♪♩ ♩♪, ab T. 61 dreimal hintereinander ♩· ♩·. Da die Ca.-Rhythmik in den meisten Partien stark vom Duktus der Unterstimmen abweicht, sind Motiventsprechungen zwischen den verschiedenen Stimmen nur selten.

Noch entscheidender für den Gesamtaufbau des Werkes ist jedoch, dass die in der Machaut-Zeit so beliebten genauen melodischen Entsprechungen in dieser Komposition kaum auftreten. Sogar der Refrain-Rücklauf ist auf zwei Takte beschränkt und im Ct. variiert. Der Abgesang ähnelt dem Stollen-"ouvert" nur ganz entfernt.

Statt dessen ist nunmehr lediglich eine Ähnlichkeit gewisser Melodieabläufe festzustellen, wie sie bei den Werken der Machaut-Zeit hauptsächlich im einigen Ten.-Stimmen auffällt. Der Ca. dieser Ball. variiert im wesentlichen zwei nur in den Anfängen unterschiedliche Tonfolgen, die nicht immer vollständig erscheinen, dagegen meist durch figurierende Umspielungen erweitert werden: 1. e fis g (bzw. a) e d (c h) in den Takten 1, 7, 16, 20, 22, 26, 42, 61, 65 und 67 beginnend; 2. fis g a fis a g fis e d c h T. 9 und T. 18a beginnend. Eine von a bzw. g bis h absinkende Tonfolge setzt auch in den Takten 14 und 48 ein.

Wichtig für den Gesamtaufbau des Werkes ist vor allen Dingen die nicht auf den Ca. allein beschränkte Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Stollen-"clos" (ab T. 20) und dem Refrain: Die Melodiebewegung der Takte 20/21 ist im Refrain auf 4 Takte gedehnt, dann folgt in beiden Teilen vor dem genau übereinstimmenden Schluss das durch eine ganze Oktave abwärts führende Motiv mit dem Beginn e fis a, im Refrain wiederum auf 4 Takte gedehnt.

Im Ten. und — seltener — im Ct. erscheinen durch eine Oktave absinkende Tonbewegungen, die zwar nicht alle zum Grundton c führen, aber in der Regel die Töne c h a g und d berühren. Zuweilen beginnen diese Phrasen der Unterstimmen auch einen oder zwei Töne höher und enden auf d oder e (neben dem Grundton c ebenfalls Kadenzzieltöne): Der 1. Stollen schliesst z.B. auf d-fis-h, der Abgesang auf e-g-h (wie 1. und 3. Textzeile T. 8, wo sich Dreiklangsparallelen ergeben).
Auffällige Kadenzen kommen aber nicht regelmässig am Ende jeder der 8 überwiegend melismatisch vertonten Textzeilen vor. Sie erscheinen vielmehr meist ohne Beziehung zum Text am Ende einiger deutlich abgehobener Phrasen des Ca.. Dabei fällt auf, dass es für die gleiche Stufe durchaus grundsätzlich verschiedene Kadenzen gibt: Nach c führende Schlussformeln

benutzen z.B. teilweise e, h und fis (T. 51-53), teilweise es, b und f (T. 69/70, bei der Parallelstelle T. 24/25 ist daher vermutlich b und nicht fis anzunehmen).

Alle drei Stimmen sind ohne Generalvorzeichnung notiert. Ten. und Ct. haben trotz fast gleichen Stimmumfanges verschiedene Akzidentien: Im Ten. erscheint nur es (neben e), im Ct. treten fis, cis und b (neben f, c und h) auf. Der im Ambitus eine Quinte höher liegende Ca. benutzt fis, cis, es und b, daneben aber auch f, c, e und h. Fis erscheint recht häufig und nicht nur als Leitton zu g, sondern auch sozusagen als leitereigener Ton. Die Kreuze stehen vielfach nicht direkt vor der Note, auf die sie sich beziehen; daher dürfte auch das vor der zweiten Ca.-Phrase notierte Vorzeichen nicht gis, sondern fis (T. 5) angeben.

Bei einer derart komplizierten Rhythmik erscheinen im Zusammenklang der drei Stimmen Harmoniewechsel natürlich häufiger als im Machaut-Stil. Trotzdem sind harte Dissonanzen in diesem Werk ausgesprochen selten. Dissonierende Klänge ergeben sich meist unauffällig bei Vorhalten, Durchgängen und Wechselnoten. Als konsonierende Akkorde erscheinen nur selten Quint-Oktav-Klänge. Die Skala der Durakkorde ist dagegen sehr reichhaltig: Es ergeben sich Klänge mit C-, D-, Es-, F-, G-, A- und B-dur-Charakter neben solchen mit c-, d-, e-, fis-, g-, a- und h-moll-Charakter.

Insgesamt macht diese Ball. sowohl durch ihre komplizierte Rhythmik und reichhaltige Harmonik als auch durch die variierende Melodiebildung einen raffinierten, ja, überfeinerten Eindruck. In jeder Hinsicht ist ein deutlicher Wandel gegenüber dem Stil der Machaut-Werke festzustellen.

5. *Calextone, qui fut*

Überlieferung: Ch 80, f. 50, Komponist: Solage; nur mit der ersten Textstrophe überliefert, welche, wie G. Reaney [26] nachwies, auf die am 25. Mai 1389 erfolgte Hochzeit von Jean, Duc de Berry, mit Jeanne de Boulogne anspielt und den Beginn eines Akrostichons erkennen lässt, das vermutlich mit dem in "Corps femenin" von Solage benutzten [27] identisch gewesen sein dürfte.

Edition: W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century.* Cambridge/Mass. 1950, S. 50/51 (Nr. 33).

Analyse: Der Ca. dieser Ball. verläuft durchgehend im t. i. pr. ma.. Der Ten. wechselt in den stets 2 oder 4 Takte füllenden, rotgeschriebenen Partien vom t. i. pr. ma. zum t. p. pr. mi. über. Während der Ca. lediglich

[26] *Musica Disciplina* VIII, 1954, S. 76/77.
[27] Vgl. Analyse 6.

einmal die Taktgrenze durch die Synkopenkette ♪♪♪ ♪♪♪ | ♪♪♪ ♪♪♪ überbrückt, geschieht das im Ct. des öfteren, vor allem auch im Anschluss an rote Notengruppen, die ihrerseits synkopische Stellung haben (T. 31b-T. 34). Ausserdem durchbricht der ebenfalls vorwiegend im t. i. pr. ma. gehaltene Ct. die sonst überall eintheitliche Min.-Bewegung im Abgesang durch einen Wechsel zum t. i. diminutum cum pr. mi. (in der üblichen Weise durch ☽ angekündigt). Auch bei diesem Solage-Werk wird die Smin. also durch augmentierte Schreibweise umgangen [28]. Da Ct. und Ca. hier zu gleicher Zeit schnelle Melodiebewegungen ausführen, ergeben sich Konfliktrhythmen im Verhältnis 2:3 und 4:3.

Der Ten. benutzt vorwiegend Lo.-, Br. sowie Sbr.-Werte und nur selten rhythmische Motive, die auch in den anderen Stimmen vorkommen. Ca. und Ct. verwenden ausser der genannten Synkopenkette mehrfach die Rhythmen ♪♪♪ ♪♪♪ und ♪♩ ♩. ♪ (auch 2mal hintereinander Ct. T. 37/38, Ca. T. 74/75; Ca. T. 12/13 und T. 50-T. 53, Ct. T. 14/15). Die jambische Formel ♪♩ ♪♩ ist im Ca. häufiger als trochäischer Rhythmus oder durchlaufende Min.-Bewegung. Sie zeigt vielfach den gleichen melodischen Verlauf und in den Takten 9/10 und 56/57 sogar übereinstimmende Ten.-Begleitung (das Erhöhungszeichen vor der Ligatur T. 56 ist vermutlich zur Vermeidung des vorher stets benutzten as gesetzt worden). Um eine Quarte höher transponiert erscheint diese Kadenz an beiden Hauptschlüssen.

Das auffälligste Motiv des ganzen Stückes ist jedoch die stets in einen ausgehaltenen Durakkord in weiter Lage mündende Folge 𝅗𝅥. 𝅗𝅥. | 𝅗𝅥. (| 𝅗𝅥.) Sie erscheint mehrfach, auch von verschiedenen Stufen der Skala aus, mit gleicher Melodik und Ten.-Begleitung und bietet dadurch einen Schlüssel für die in diesem Werk besonders schwer zu lösende Vorzeichenfrage. Das Motiv kommt in zwei harmonisch und melodisch unterschiedlichen Fassungen vor, die in reinster Form in den Takten 25-27 = 65-67 und 72/73 erklingen. Erstere erscheint, ebenfalls von einem F-dur- zu einem C-dur-Dreiklang führend, im Ct. variiert T. 6/7, im Ca. variiert T. 76-78. Recht sinnfällig ist ausserdem die von Es- nach B-dur führende, im Ct. leicht abgewandelte Wiederholung T. 45/46. Die gleiche, am Schluss auch melodisch entsprechend geführte Kadenzfolge bieten die Takte 29-31 = 69-71 = 80-82. Sie beweist eindeutig, dass in Ten. und Ct. durchgehend b-Vorzeichnung zu ergänzen ist, was auch W. Apel annimmt. Die Häufigkeit dieser Harmonieverbinding lässt vermuten, dass auch in den Takten 42/43 eine ähnliche Wirkung erzielt werden soll, die beiden schon vor der Ligatur T. 40 auftretenden Vorzeichen sich also auf des und as beziehen dürften.

[28] Diese in vielen *Ch*-Werken benutzte Notationsweise beschreibt U. Günther, "Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047", *AfMw* XVII, 1960, S. 1-21.

Über die korrekte Lesung der Takte 35/36 = 86/87 gibt die Harmoniefolge der Takte 72/73 Aufschluss. Hier wie dort erscheinen nach einem Quintsprung im Ca. um eine kleine Sekunde abwärts geführte Sextenparallelen zwischen Ca. und Ten.. Das schon vor der Ligatur, also vor der Note c stehende Erhöhungszeichen ist infolgedessen eindeutig auf e zu beziehen, zumal kurz vor- und hinterher als Akzidentie ein es auftritt. Nur der Ct. ist an beiden Stellen unterschiedlich, was die Ähnlichkeit der harmonischen Wirkung allerdings nicht sehr beeinträchtigt, anderseits aber klar erkennen lässt, dass der Ct. zuletzt erfunden wurde.

Damit dürften die wichtigsten harmonischen Probleme dieses Werkes gelöst sein. Es ergibt sich also, dass der Ca. neben allen Tönen der diatonischen Skala b, es, as und cis benutzt. Nur fis ist nicht mit Sicherheit nachweisbar; Apel nimmt auch dieses T. 9 an. Im Ten. wird vermutlich stets b zu lesen sein; ausserdem erscheinen as, es und des neben a, e und d. Der Ct. benutzt b, es und as neben h, e und a. Dabei haben die sich ständig kreuzenden Unterstimmen den gleichen Ambitus. Der eine Quinte höher liegende Ca. kreuzt sich mit dem Ct. nur selten, mit dem Ten. nie.

Durch das Zusammenwirken der Stimmen ergibt sich eine ausserordentlich reiche Harmonik, die zwar um die Finalis c zentriert ist, jedoch kaum in ein tonales Schema, geschweige denn in ein modales gepresst werden kann. Auch in diesem Stück sind Akkorde mit Mollcharakter (c-, d-, e-, f-, g- und a-moll) seltener als solche mit Durcharakter (C-, Des-, Es-, F-, G-, As-, A- und B-dur).

Sehr ungewöhnlich ist das Verhältnis der Hauptkadenzen: 2. Stollen und Refrain enden mit einem Quint-Oktav-Klang über c, 1. Stollen und Abgesang zwar im Ca. mit dem in derartigen Fällen üblichen d, zu dem im Ten. und Ct. aber die darunterliegende Quinte b-f tritt, so dass sich ein B-dur-Dreiklang in weiter Lage und dadurch die oben erwähnte Kadenzfortschreitung ergibt.

Der Gesamtaufbau des Stückes ist auch insofern ungewöhnlich, als 1. Stollen und Abgesang sowie 2. Stollen und Refrain in den letzten 14-15 Takten genau übereinstimmen. Dadurch entsteht eine fast symmetrische Anlage, der nur die Kürze des auch hier wieder ausschliesslich mit bekanntem Motivmaterial arbeitenden Refrais entgegenwirkt.

Die Textunterlegung ist bei den einander entsprechenden musikalischen Abschnitten jedoch sehr unterschiedlich. Auch die Gliederung der Ca.-Melodie, die völlig unregelmässig teils in längere, sogar verschiedene Verszeilen verbindende, teils in kürzere Phrasen zerfällt, steht in keiner engen Beziehung zum Text. Von den 8 zehn- bzw. siebensilbigen Textzeilen entfallen aber — wie üblich — 4 auf die Stollen, 3 auf den Abgesang und 1 auf den Refrain.

Gegenüber den Kompositionen der Machaut-Zeit ist in dieser Ball. von

Solage also eine ganz entschiedene Erweiterung der rhythmischen und harmonischen Möglichkeiten und ein stärkeres Hervortreten melodischer, ja, sogar leicht variierter harmonischer Entsprechungen festzustellen.

6. *Corps femenin*

Überlieferung: Ch 24, f. 23v., Komponist: Solage. Der Text des Werkes bringt, wie G. Reaney bereits feststellte [29], das Akrostichon "Cathelline la royne d'amours", das mit dem leider unvollständigen des zuvor analysierten Werkes übereingestimmt haben dürfte und auch bei dieser Komposition eine Entstehung um 1389 wahrscheinlich macht.

Edition: W. Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late Fourteenth Century,* Cambridge/Mass. 1950, S. 47-49 (Nr. 32).

Analyse: In allen drei Stimmen des Originals werden, sowohl in den schwarz- als auch in den rotgeschriebenen Partien, Lo.-, Br.- und Sbr.-Werte benutzt. Minimen treten aber nur selten in den schwarzen Ca.-Abschnitten auf. Diese bei einer Komposition aus dem Jahre 1389 ungewöhnliche Bevorzugung der grossen Notenwerte findet eine Erklärung nur dadurch, dass man, wie in Oberstimme und Ten. des in Analyse 4 beschriebenen Werkes vom gleichen Komponisten, wegen der kleinen Notenwerte des Ca. in allen drei Stimmen eine augmentierte Schreibweise annimmt, die für den Komponisten bzw. Kopisten den Vorteil bot, dass er keine neuen, über die Min. hinausgehenden Notenzeichen zu verwenden brauchte [30]. Zum besseren Vergleich mit anderen Werken wäre daher eine Übertragung in nochmals um die Hälfte reduzierten Notenwerten vorzuziehen, bei der nicht die Br., sondern die Lo. als Takteinheit auftritt.

Erst dann wird offensichtlich, dass auch in dieser Komposition die Ausdehnung sowohl des Ganzen als auch der einzelnen Phrasen die bei Balladen übliche Länge nicht überschreitet und dass das Stück — abgesehen von einigen unregelmässigen Stellen — in Grosstakten verläuft, die in ihrer Wirkung meist dem t. i. pr. ma. entsprechen, das in der Singstimme gelegentlich Subprolatio-Unterteilung benutzt und bei Rotschreibung ins t. p. pr. mi. umschlägt.

Die Rotschreibung wird teilweise inkonsequent gehandhabt (vgl. die unterschiedliche Notation beim Rhythmus 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 ♩ ♩ in den Takten 45/46 und 54/55), tritt aber meist nur dort auf, wo es wirklich unmöglich ist, den vorliegenden Rhythmus in schwarzer Notation mit Hilfe von Synkopationspunkten auszudrücken, also bei der Aufeinanderfolge mehrerer zwei- bzw.

[29] *Musica Disciplina* VIII, 1954, S. 76/77.

[30] Durchgehend augmentiert geschriebene Werke kommen in *Ch* ebenfalls mehrfach vor. Vgl. U. Günther, *AfMw* XVII, S. 10 und S. 277-297.

vier- und zweizeitiger Werte. Die Folge ♩♩𝅗𝅥 ♩♩ wurde dagegen stets schwarz notiert, obgleich die perfekte Lo.-Teilung hier ebenfalls offensichtlich ist. Eine ähnliche Wirkung ergibt sich auch bei den anderen Ca.-Abschnitten, wenn die Unterstimmen eine derartige Auffassung nahelegen, so z.B. bei einfacher Sbr.-Min.-Bewegung ab T. 30 und in den Takten 84/85. Zuweilen gibt auch der teilweise unter dem Ten. liegende Ct. die rhythmischen Schwerpunkte zu erkennen (in den Takten 50-55 = 99-104, 72-75 und 131-134). Auf diese Weise kommt es — wie bei dem zuvor analysierten Werk — zu einem ständigen Schwanken zwischen perfekter und imperfekter Unterteilung gleichlanger Takte.

Eine einheitliche Gruppierung dieser Art, wie sie zweifellos dem ganzen Refrain und dem grösseren Teil des Abgesanges zugrunde liegt, ist aber nicht überall vorhanden. Abweichungen ergeben sich zwar nur selten, aber — wie bei "S'aincy estoit" — nicht immer in allen Stimmen gleichzeitig. Die Stollenanfänge zeigen besonders deutlich, dass die Grosstaktgliederung auch in diesem Werk in Auflösung begriffen ist. Will man sie zur Vereinfachung des Notenbildes trotzdem durchführen, so wären in den Ten.-Takten 1-9 und 16-27 jeweils drei Takte der Edition zu einer höheren Einheit zusammenzufassen. Der Ct. schliesst sich dieser Gliederung nur in den Takten 1-6 und 22-27 eindeutig an. Im Ca. müsste man dagegen mit Ausnahme der Takte 11-13 je 2 t.-Gruppen vereinigen, damit die Schlusstöne der einzelnen Phrasen auf schwerem Taktteil erscheinen. Ähnliche Komplikationen ergeben sich in den Takten 40-42 und 51-56 = 100-105.

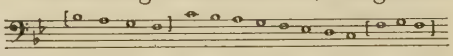
Der Ct. weicht ausserdem mehrfach völlig vom üblichen Metrum dadurch ab, dass die meist zwei- oder dreimal hintereinander auftretende rhythmische Formel 𝄾 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 ♩ die in den Ct.-Takten 51-56 und den Ca.-Takten 72-75 auch in regulärer Taktstellung vorkommt, synkopisch verschoben wird. Das geschieht stets mittels Voranstellung einer roten, also zweizeitigen Br., die durch eine der Synkopenkette folgende rote Lo. (bzw. 2 Breven) zu einem Takt ergänzt wird: T. 8-15, T. 30-35, T. 45-50 und T. 80-87.

Es ist auffällig, dass alle Ct.-Abschnitte mit dem Rhythmus 𝄾 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 ♩ als meist komplementäre Ergänzung zu rotgeschriebenen Ten.-Partien auftreten, die untereinander wiederum rhythmisch gleich oder ähnlich angelegt sind: 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 . In den Takten 8-15 und 80-87 ergeben sich in den Unterstimmen sogar völlig isorhythmisch gebaute Abschnitte. Auch die Takte 91-98 und 124-131 stimmen in Ca. und Ten. rhythmisch genau überein, letzterer ist anfangs auch melodisch gleich.

Wie bei dem zuvor analysierten Werk treten mehrfach Synkopenketten auf, die aus einer Verschiebung der Formel ♩ 𝅗𝅥 gebildet sind: in den Ca.-Takten 19, 66, 76, 91, 115, 123 und 146 beginnend. Der rhythmische Ablauf der Takte 99-102 kehrt leicht verändert in den Takten 131-134 wieder.

Die Folge 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 erscheint im Ca. T. 1, T. 141 und mit rhythmisch gleicher Fortsetzung in den Takten 45 und 54 = 103.

Hier und an anderen Stellen sind die rhythmischen Parallelen gleichzeitig mit weitgehenden melodischen Analogien verbunden: Man vergleiche beispielsweise die Ca.-Phrasen der Takte 35-41 und 138-144. Eine Wiederkehr melodisch gleicher Floskeln, wie ♩♩♫ und ♩♫♫, ist mehrfach festzustellen. Das sequenzierende Motiv ♩𝅗𝅥♩𝅗𝅥♩ erscheint sogar in Ca. (T. 81) und Ten. (hier besonders auffällig jeweils die Ca.-Pause vor der abschliessenden Synkopenkette jedes Teiles ausfüllend).

Besonders interessant ist bei dieser Ball. der melodische Bau des Ten., der konsequenter als bei allen zuvor betrachteten Kompositionen aus einem längeren Melodiegerüst entwickelt wurde, dessen Kernstück wie üblich durch eine Oktave abwärts gleitet. Vollständig erscheint die insgesamt sogar 11mal wiederholte Tonfolge  stets zu Anfang der einzelnen Balladen-Teile. Häufig entfallen aber die (eingeklammerten) Anfangs- oder Schlusstöne, so dass lediglich eine auf die einfache Leiter reduzierte Fassung gebracht wird. Obgleich die einzelnen Phrasen das angegebene Melodiegerüst durch Einfügung oder Auslassung einiger Töne und rhythmische Abwandlung variieren, ist die Wiederholung teilweise auch dort sinnfällig, wo keine genaue Übereinstimmung des ganzen Abschnittes vorliegt: z.B. sind die Takte 1-6, 19-24 und 76-81 identisch.

Ausserdem befinden sich über den tiefsten Tönen der Skala, d und c, stets einander ähnlich gebaute Kadenzen, die meist mit dem Ende von Ca.-Phrasen zusammenfallen. Halbschlüsse auf d ergeben sich beim Stollen-"ouvert" und am Ende des Abgesanges sowie in den Takten 14, 34, 57, 86 und 106. Kadenzen, die zum Grundton c führen, bringen der Stollen-"clos" und der Refrain sowie die Takte 49, 59, 108 und 137.

Im Zusammenhang mit den Kadenzen ist die Vorzeichenfrage noch kurz zu erörtern: Die sich ständig kreuzenden Unterstimmen tragen b- und es-Vorzeichnung. Akzidentien fehlen mit Ausnahme eines Auflösungszeichens für h im Ct. (T. 57 = 106), das mit einem fis des Ca. zusammenfällt. Dieser liegt im Umfang eine Sexte höher als die Unterstimmen und kreuzt diese nur selten. Das tiefere b ist hier durch Generalvorzeichnung, das höhere durch Akzidentien angezeigt. Neben f erscheint fis (stets als Leitton zu g), neben e auch es (in absinkender Melodiebewegung). Da in dieser Stimme nirgends ein Auflösungszeichen für h vorkommt, sind die nach c führenden Kadenzen, analog dem eindeutig in dieser Weise notierten Schluss von "S'aincy estoit", vermutlich ohne Leitton zu spielen. Harmonisch wirkt das Stück also verhältnismässig einheitlich, da sich nur über c und d wechselnd Dur- und Mollklänge ergeben. Neben wenig aufdringlich wirkende Dissonanzen und Quint-Oktav-Klängen ercheinen ausserdem

Akkorde mit B-, Es- und F-dur- sowie g- und h-moll-Charakter.

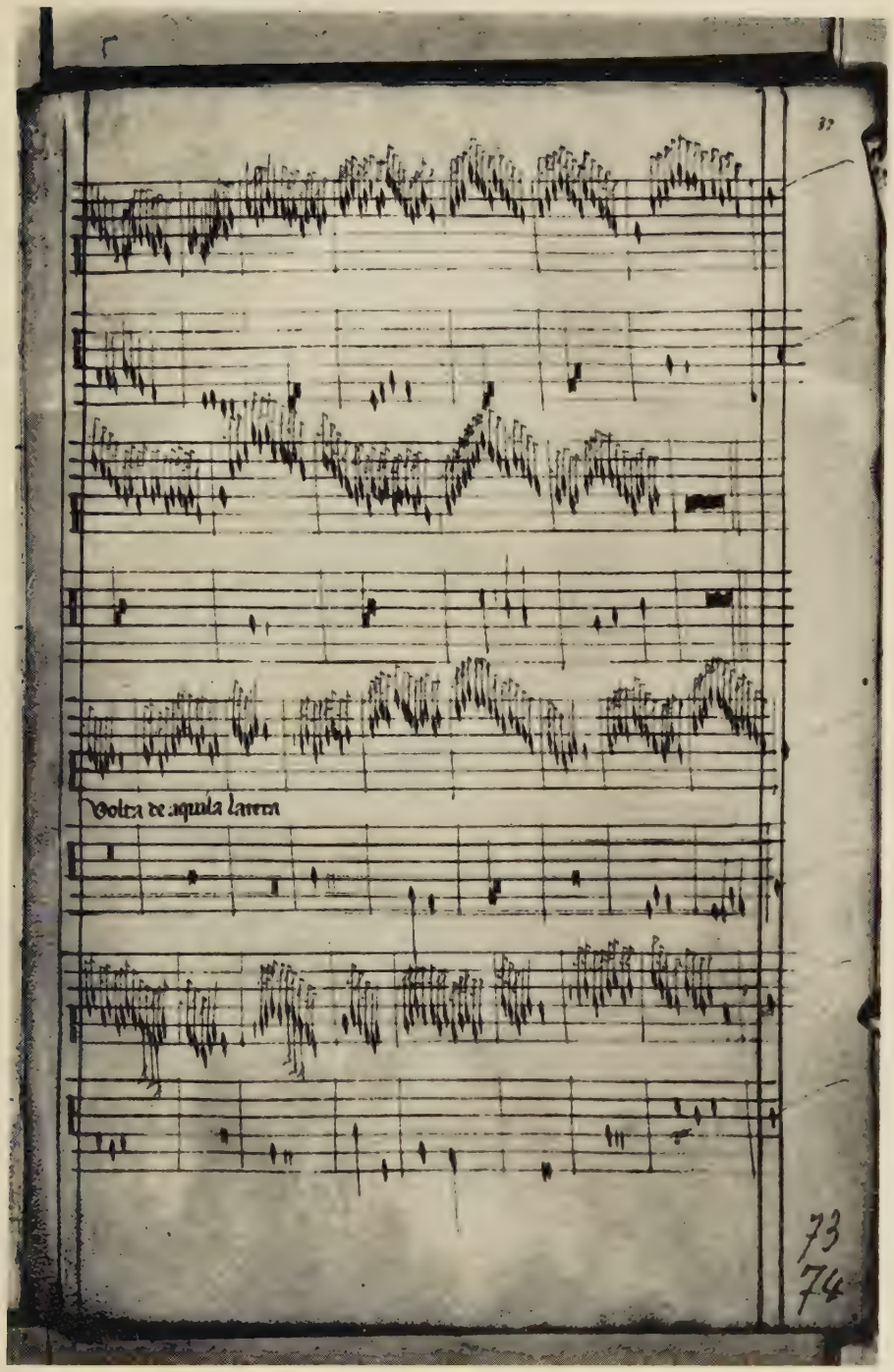
Der Gesamtaufbau des Werkes hält sich zwar insofern an die Balladen-Form der Machaut-Zeit, als Stollen, Abgesang und Refrain gesonderte Teile bilden, weicht aber dadurch vom üblichen Schema ab, dass 1. Stollen und Abgesang längere Schlussentsprechungen aufweisen als 2. Stollen und Refrain (T. 50-71a = 99-120, T. 62-71b = 142-151). Trotzdem arbeitet der Refrain lediglich mit rhythmischen und melodischen Bewegungen, die bereits aus dem Vorhergehenden bekannt sind. Die unterschiedliche Textierung der ausgedehnten Schlussabschnitte und die auch sonst musikalisch wenig überzeugende, rein melismatische Unterlegung des hier 8zeiligen Textes (regelwidrig sind — auf Grund des Akrostichons — nur die unterschiedlichen Verse des Refrain-Teils) zeigen deutlich, dass die musikalischen Details von der Sprache vollkommen unabhängig sind.

Trotz unsymmetrisch gebauter Ca.-Phrasen, wechselvoller Rhythmik und weitgehender Lösung vom Text ergibt sich durch die stark entwickelte Motivtechnik und die einheitliche Harmonik in dieser Ball. dennoch eine ausserordentlich geschlossene Gesamtwirkung.

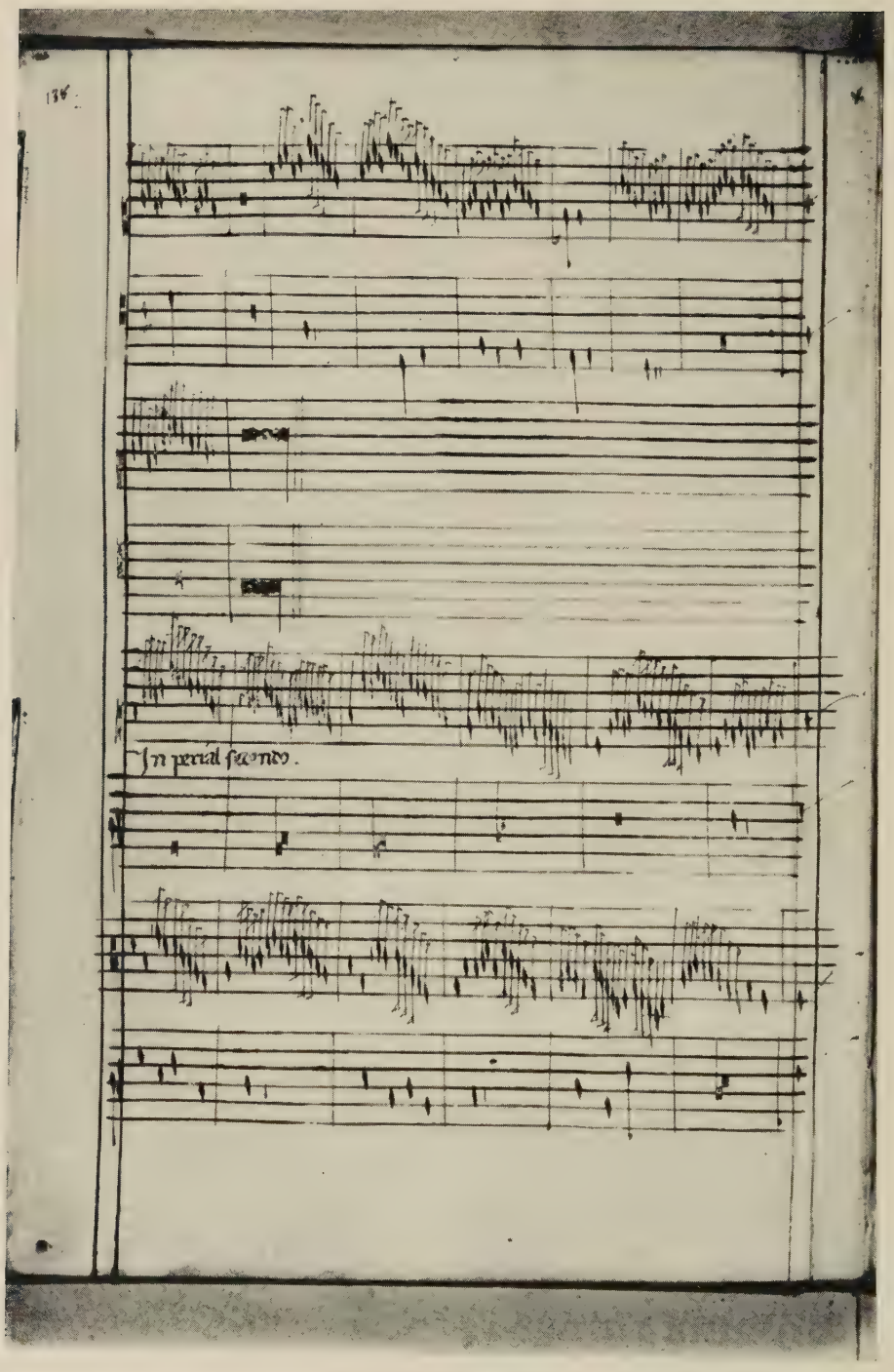
THE CODEX FAENZA, BIBLIOTECA COMUNALE, 117 [*Fa*]

A Facsimile Edition

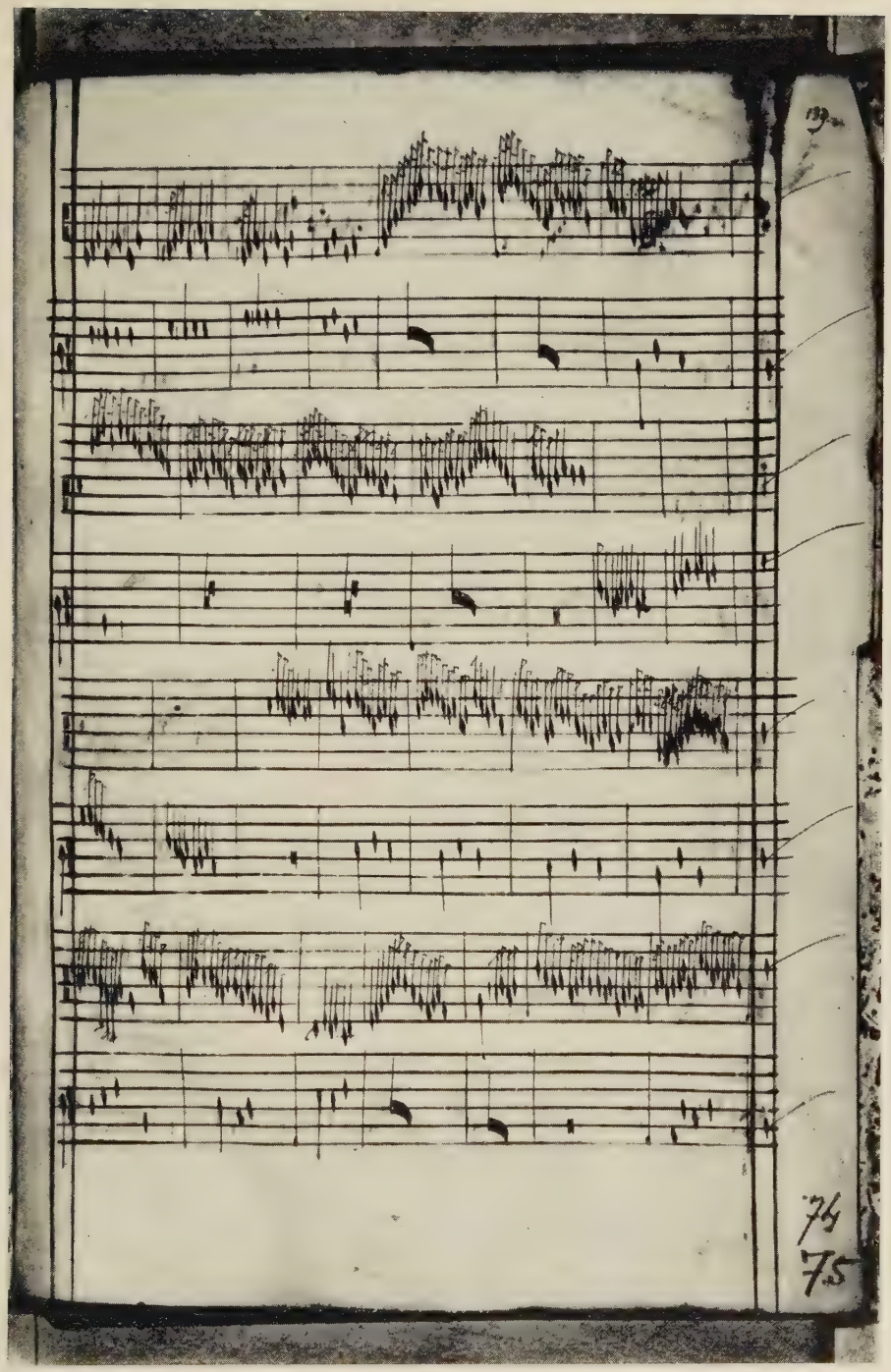
Part III



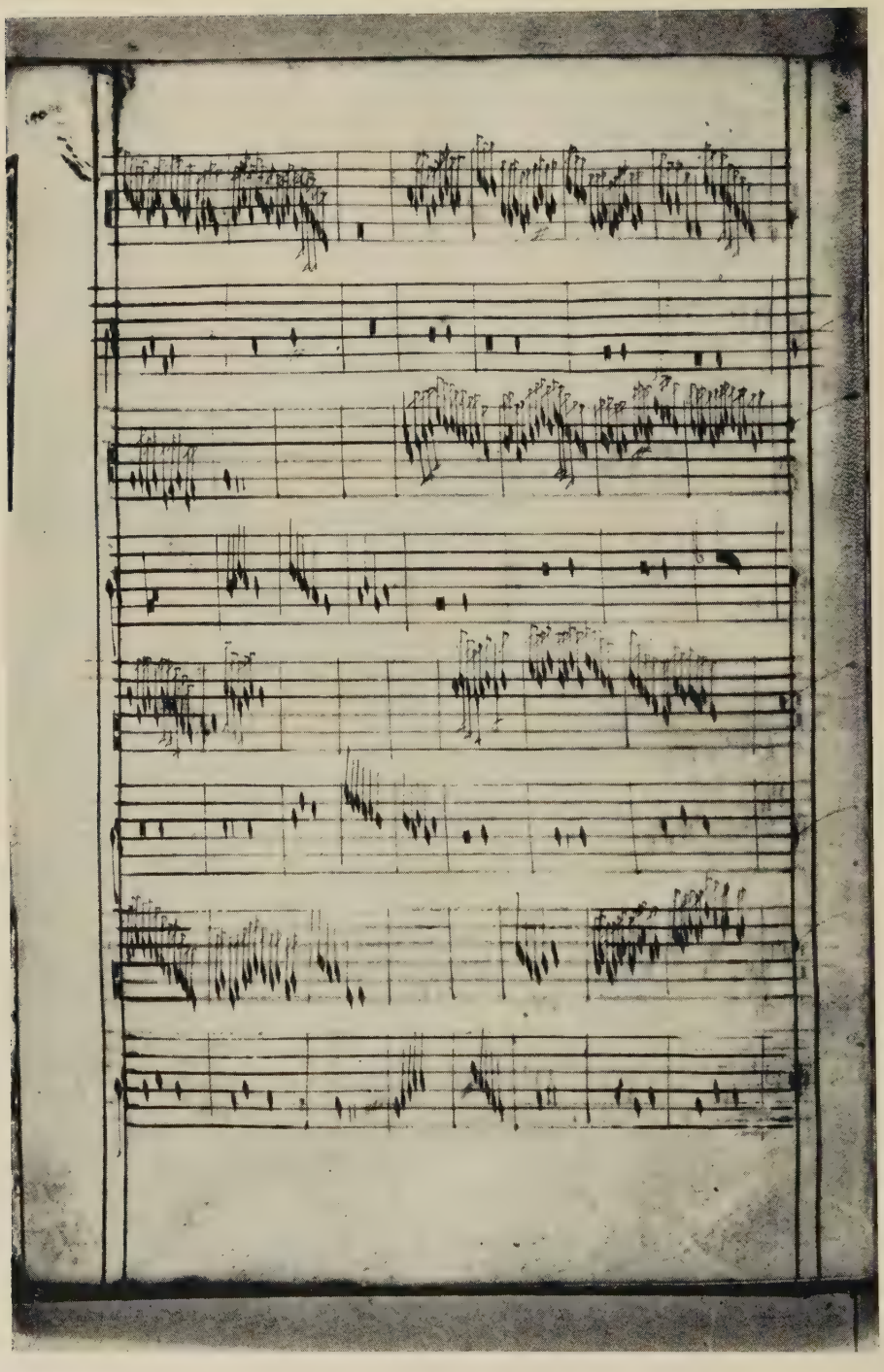
No. 65, fol. 73 = 74r



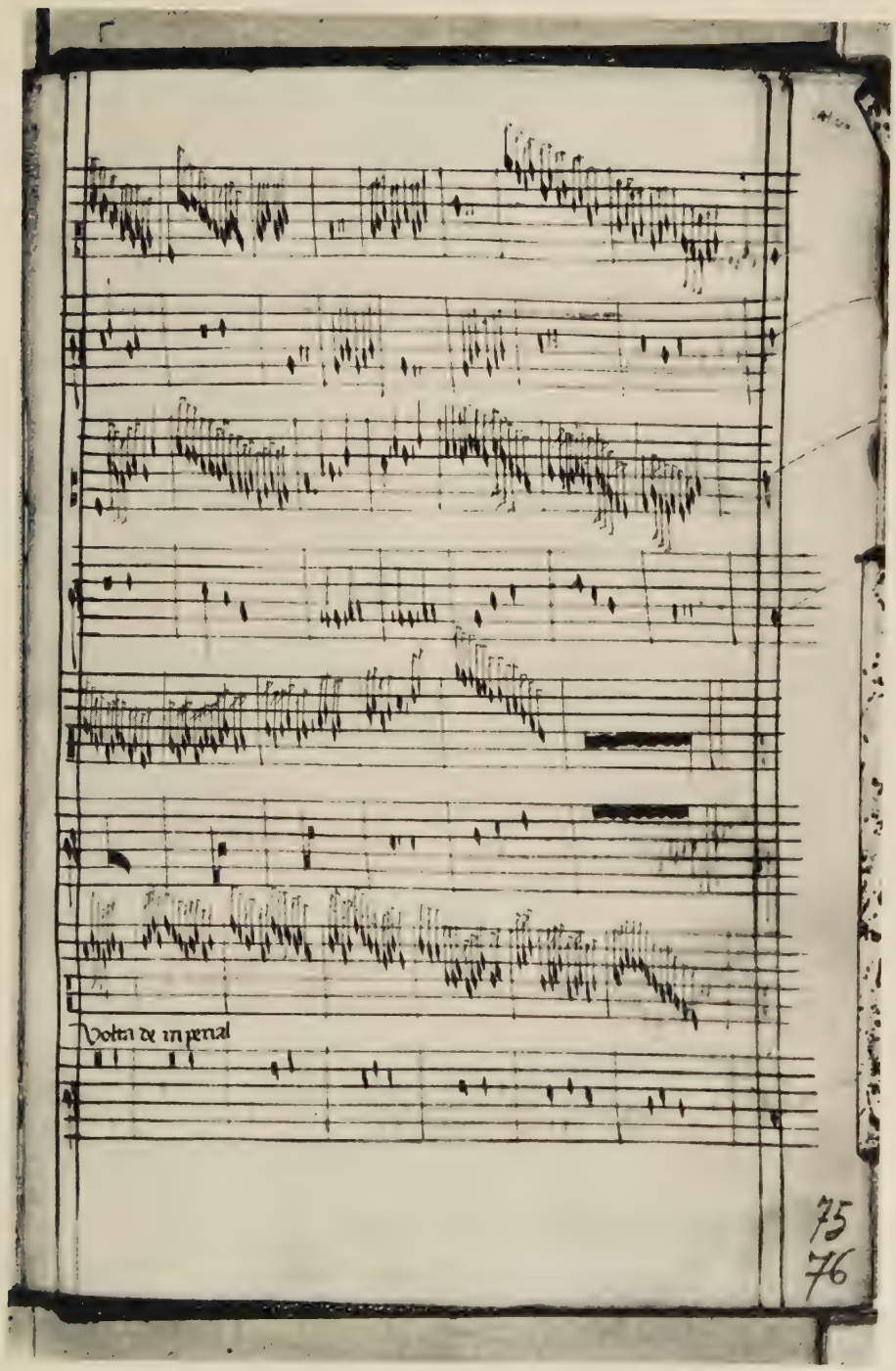
No. 66, fol. 73 = 74v



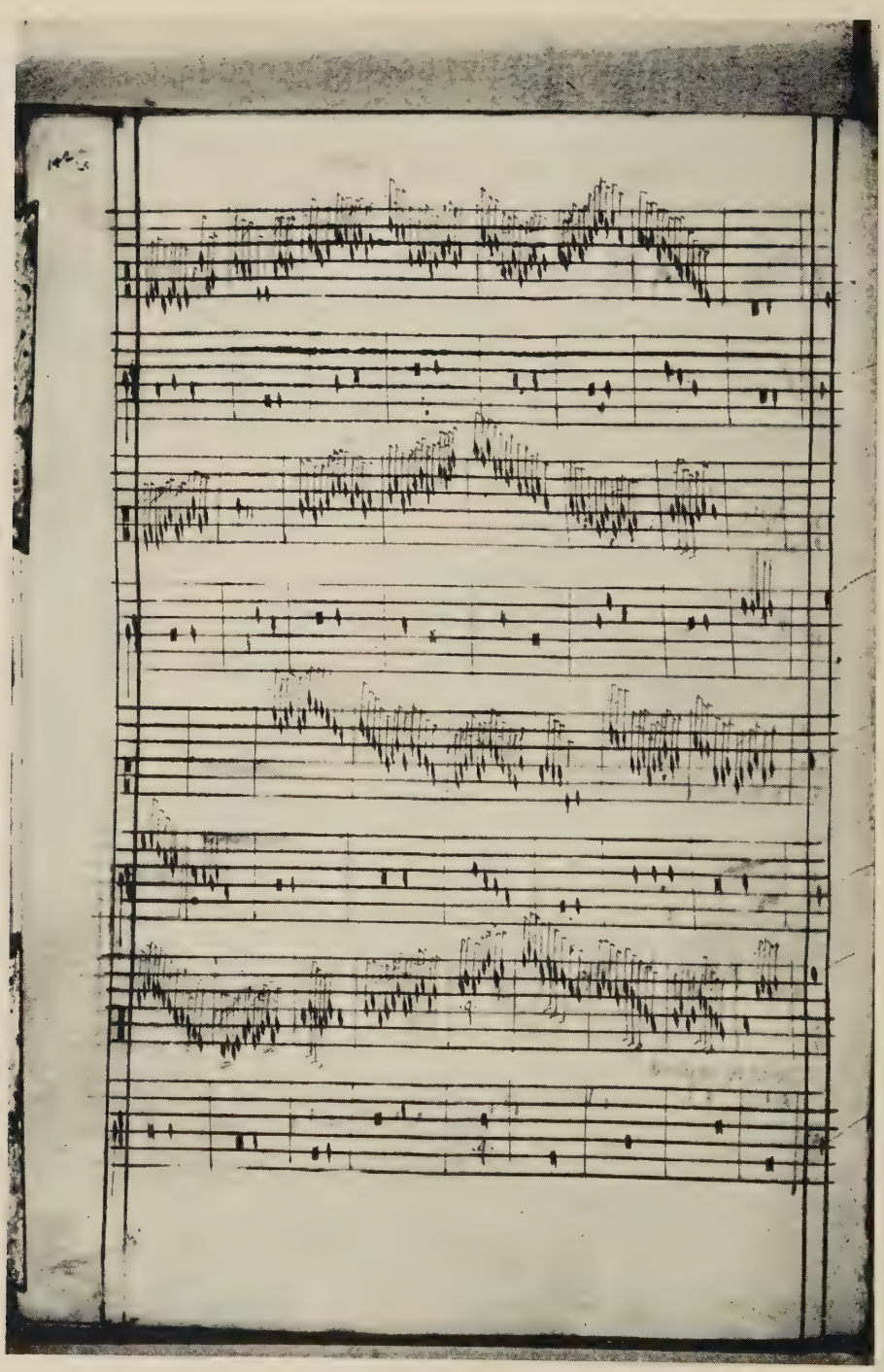
No. 67, fol. 74 = 75r



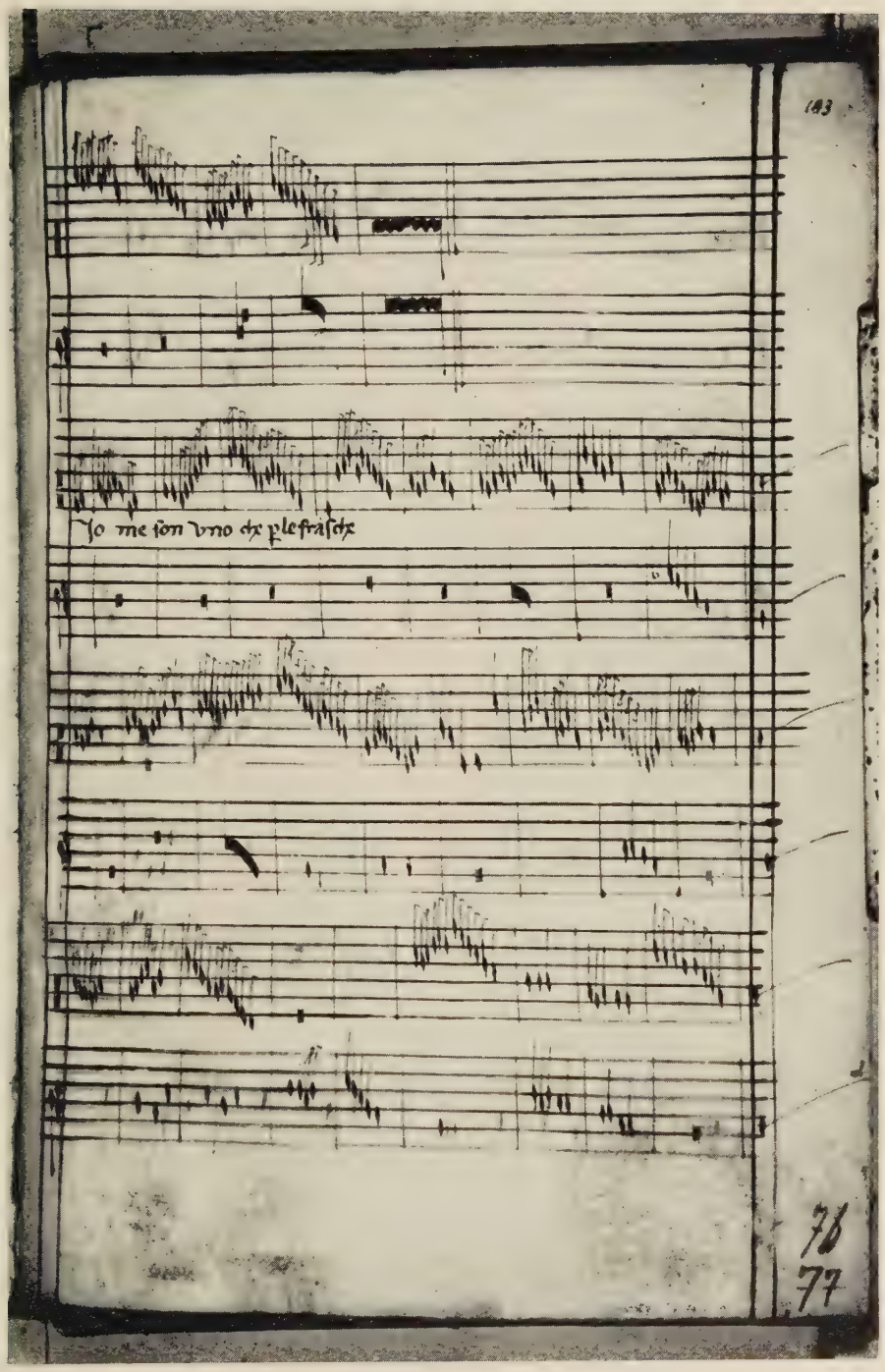
No. 68, fol. 74 = 75v



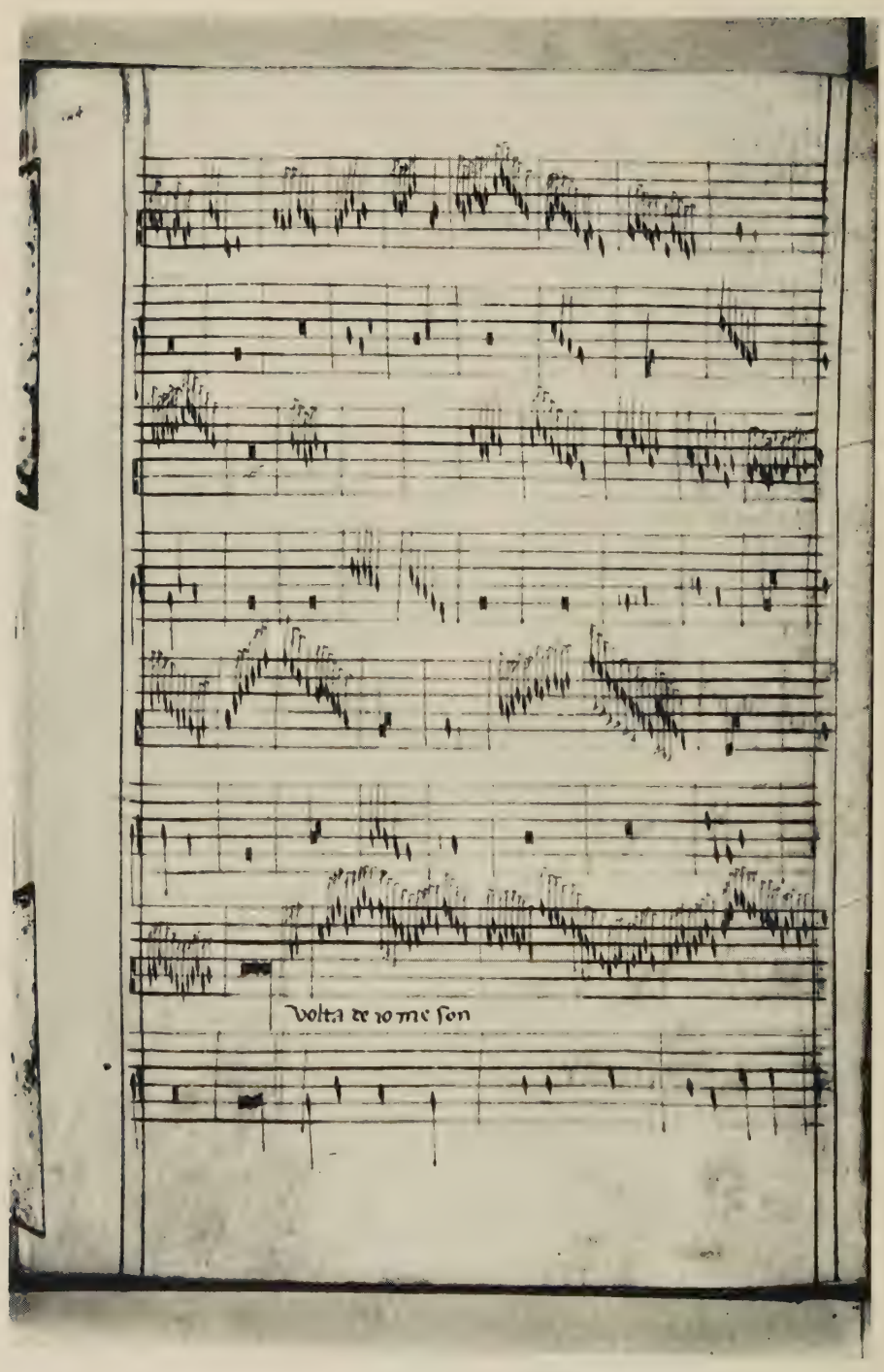
No. 69, fol. 75 = 76r



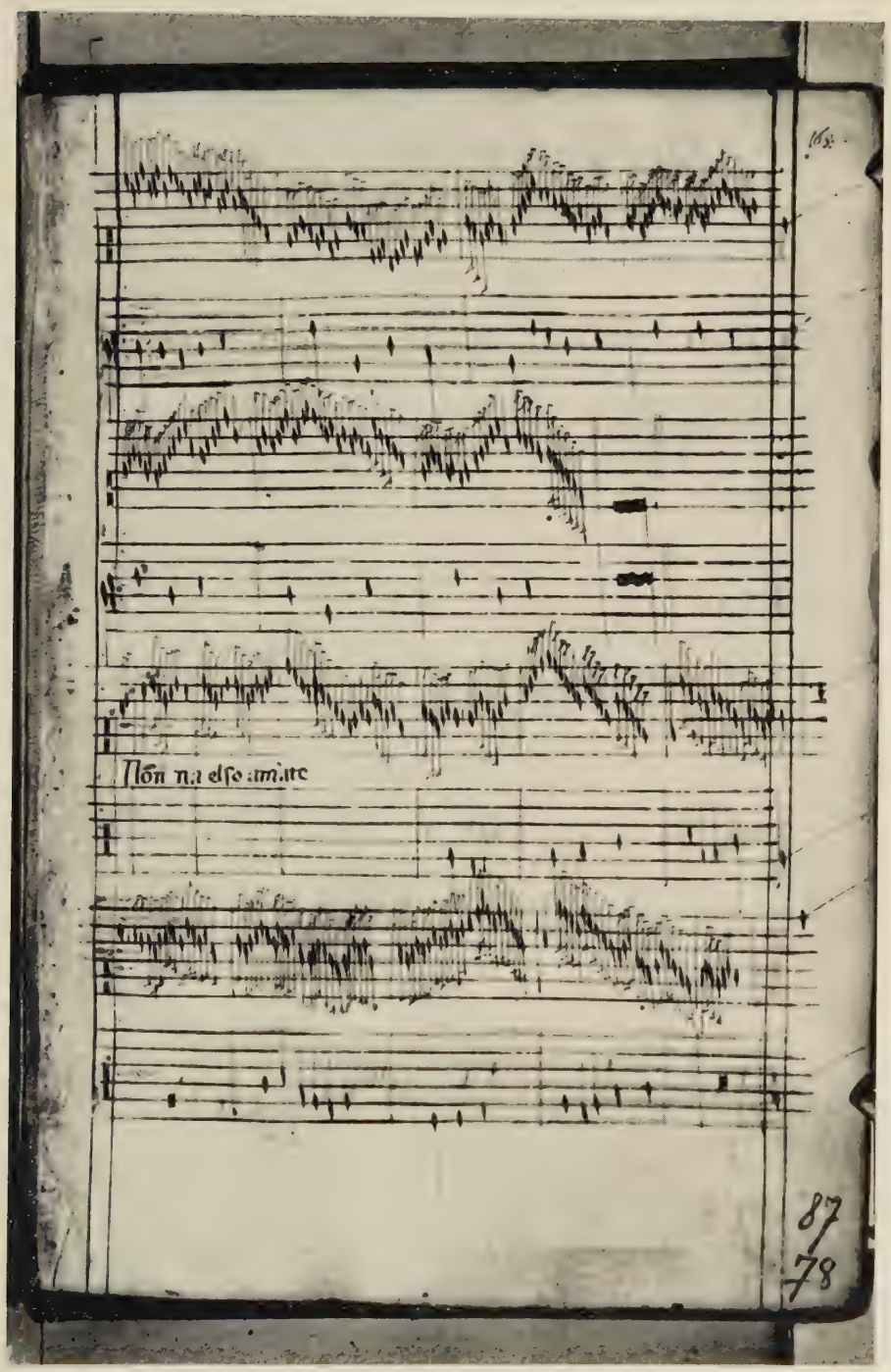
No. 70, fol. 75 = 76v



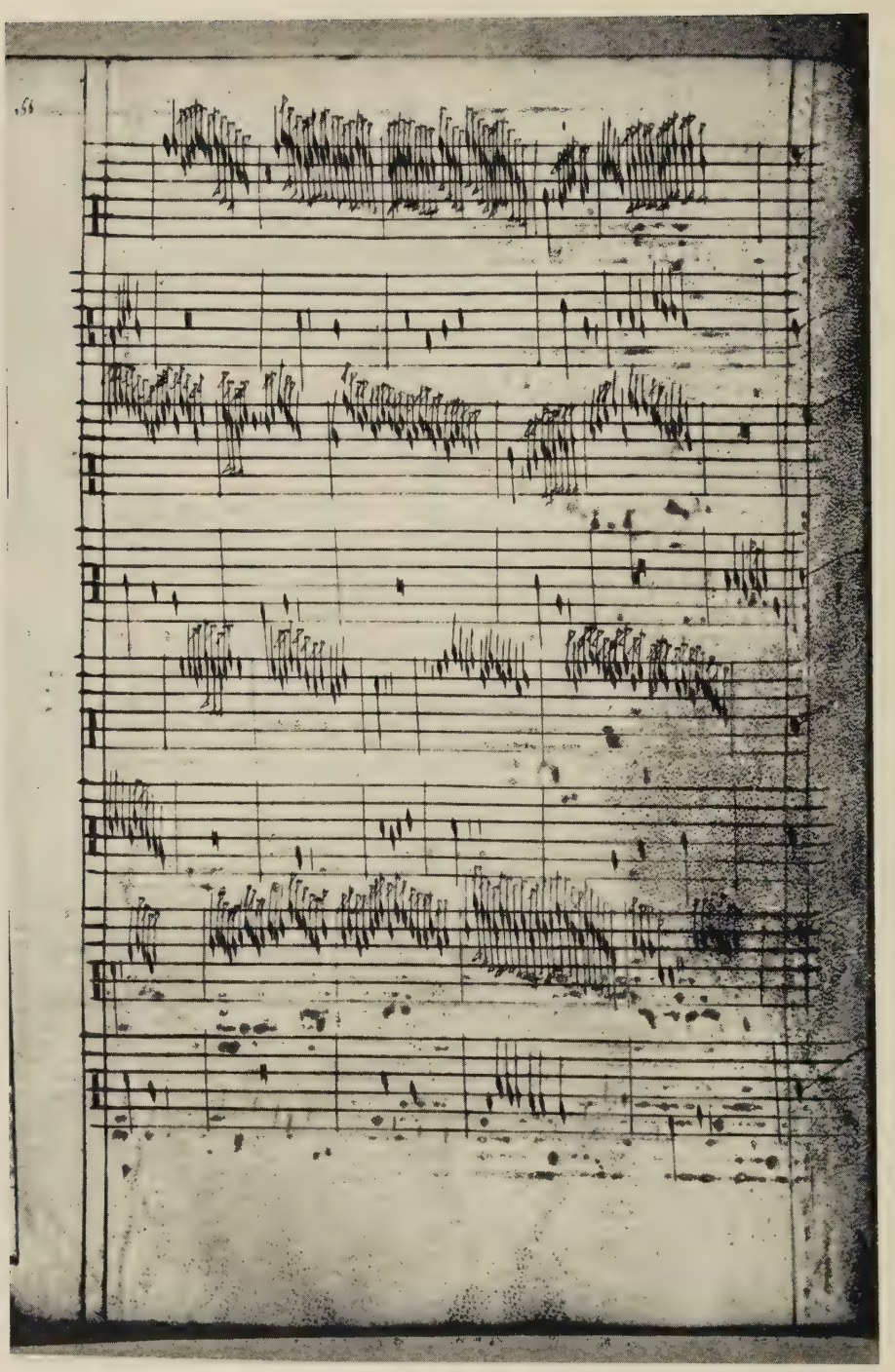
No. 71, fol. 76 = 77r



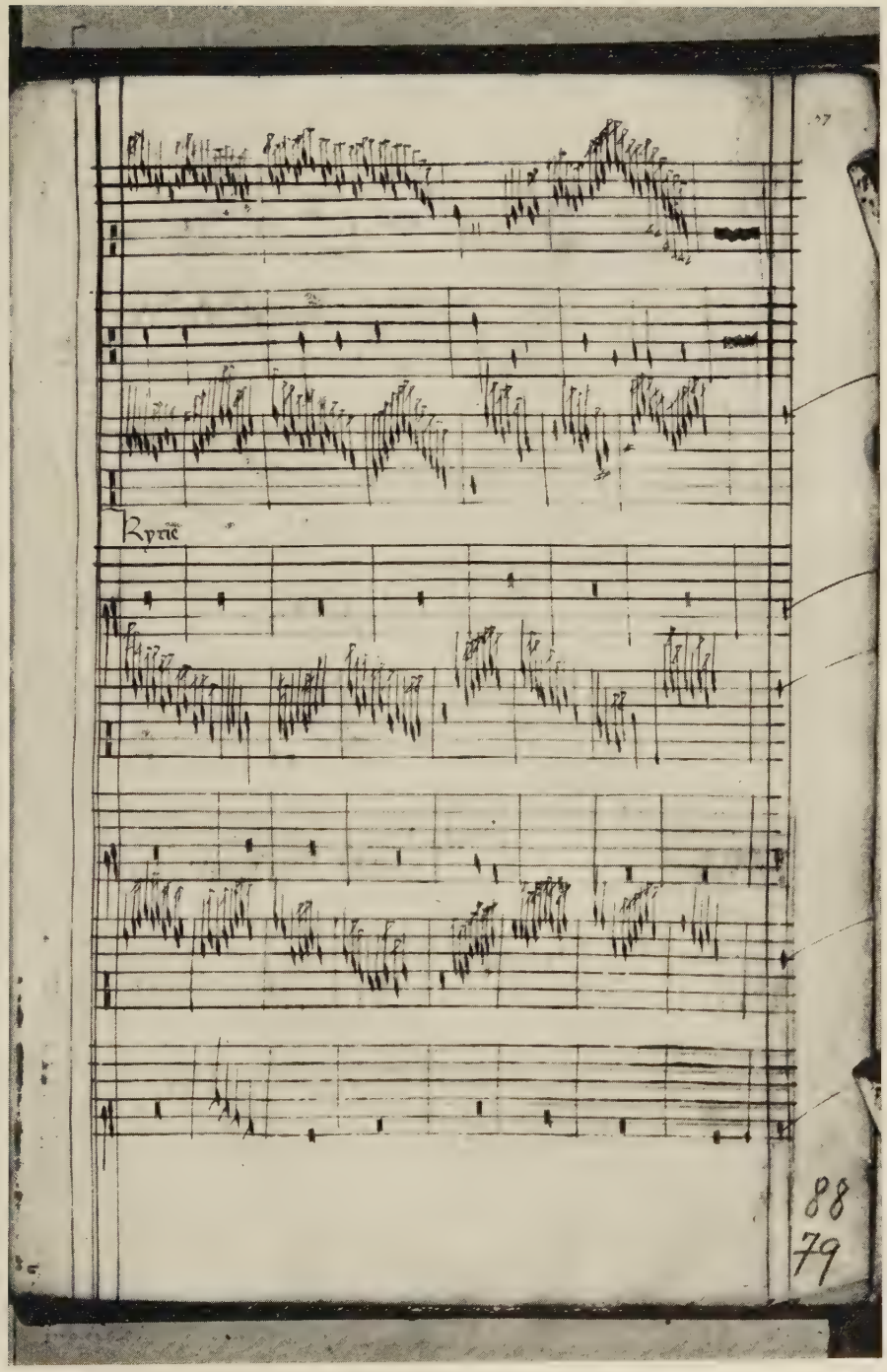
No. 72, fol. 76 = 77v



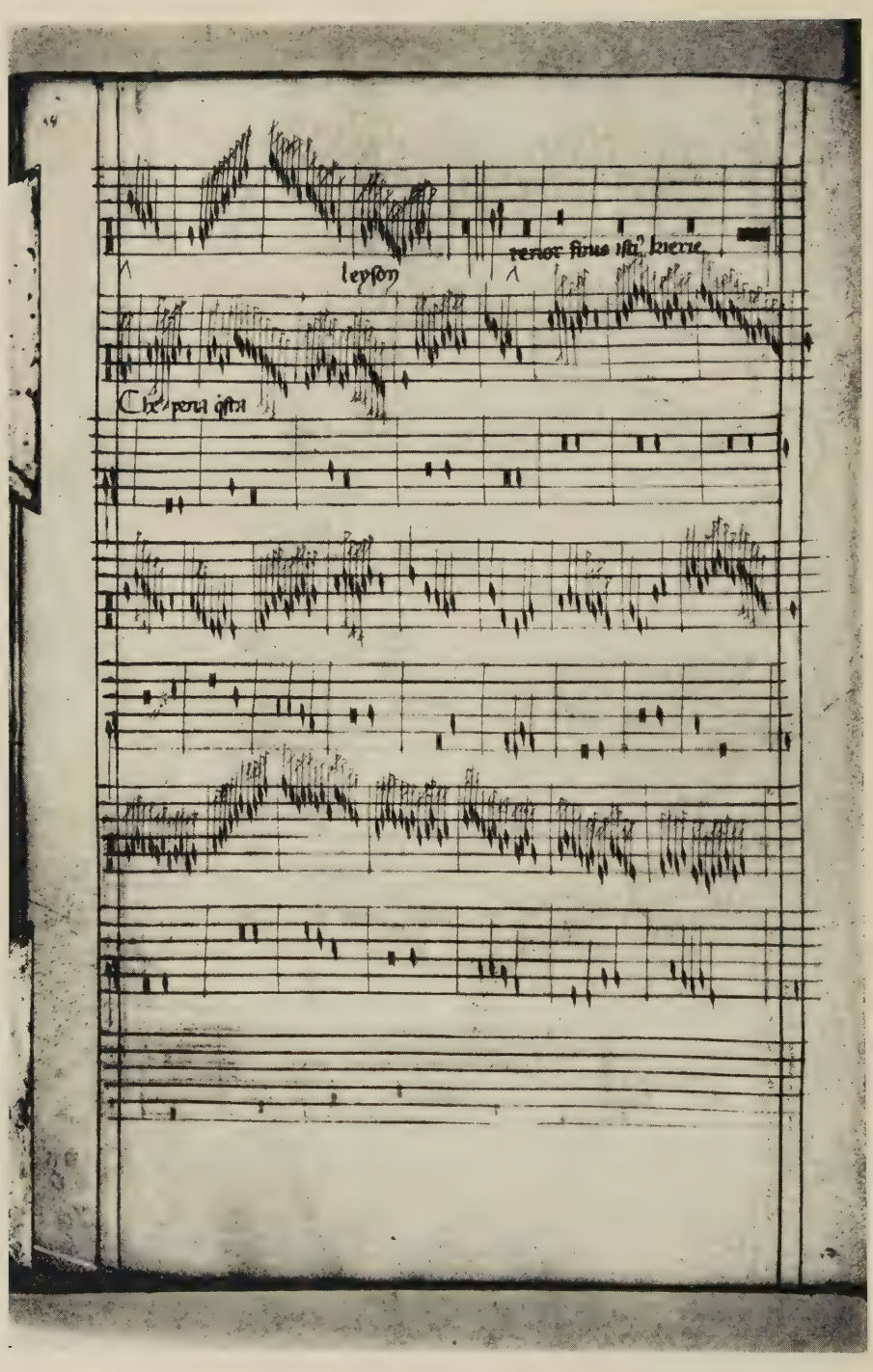
No. 73, fol. 87 = 78r



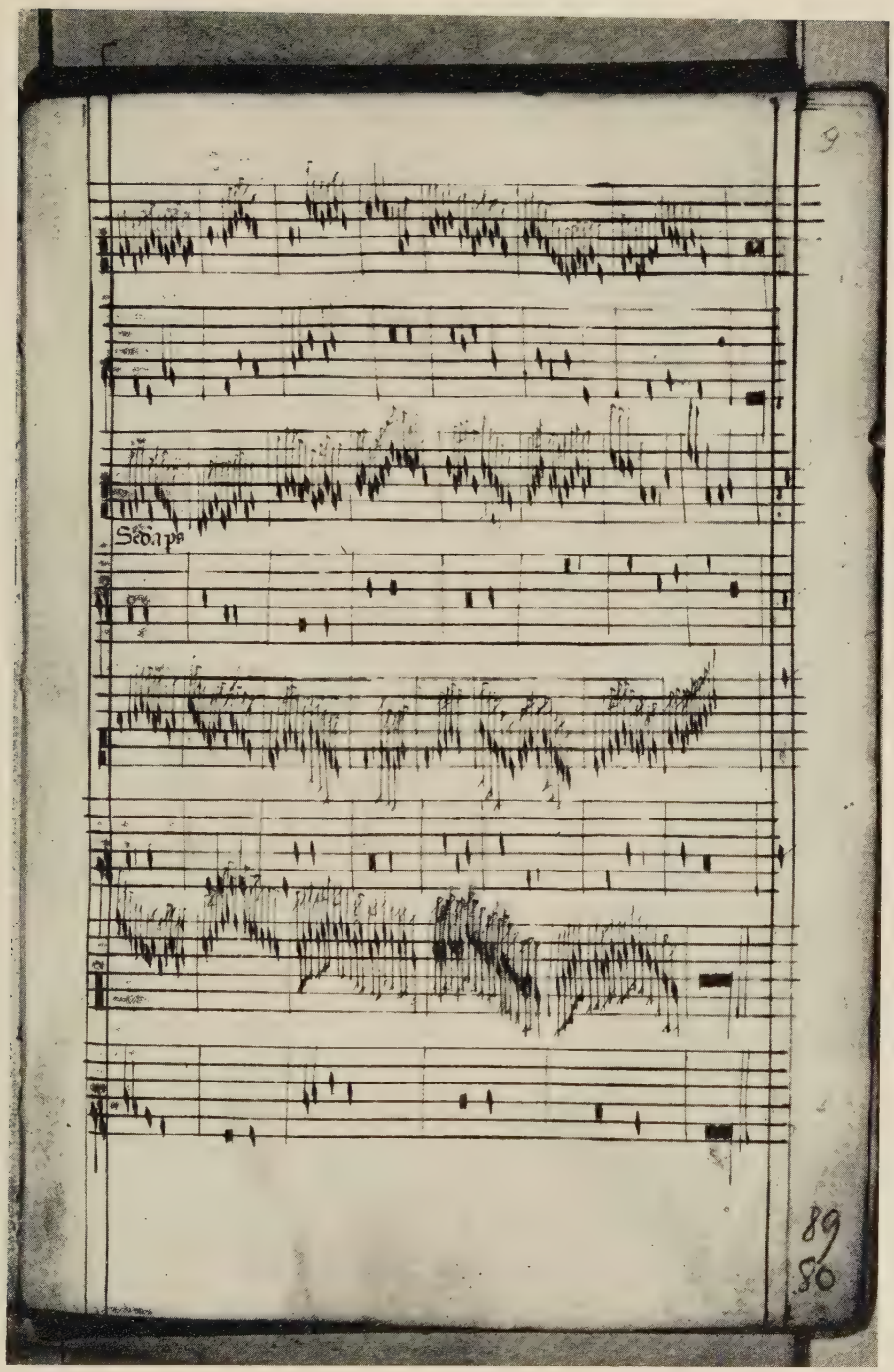
No. 74, fol. 87 = 78v



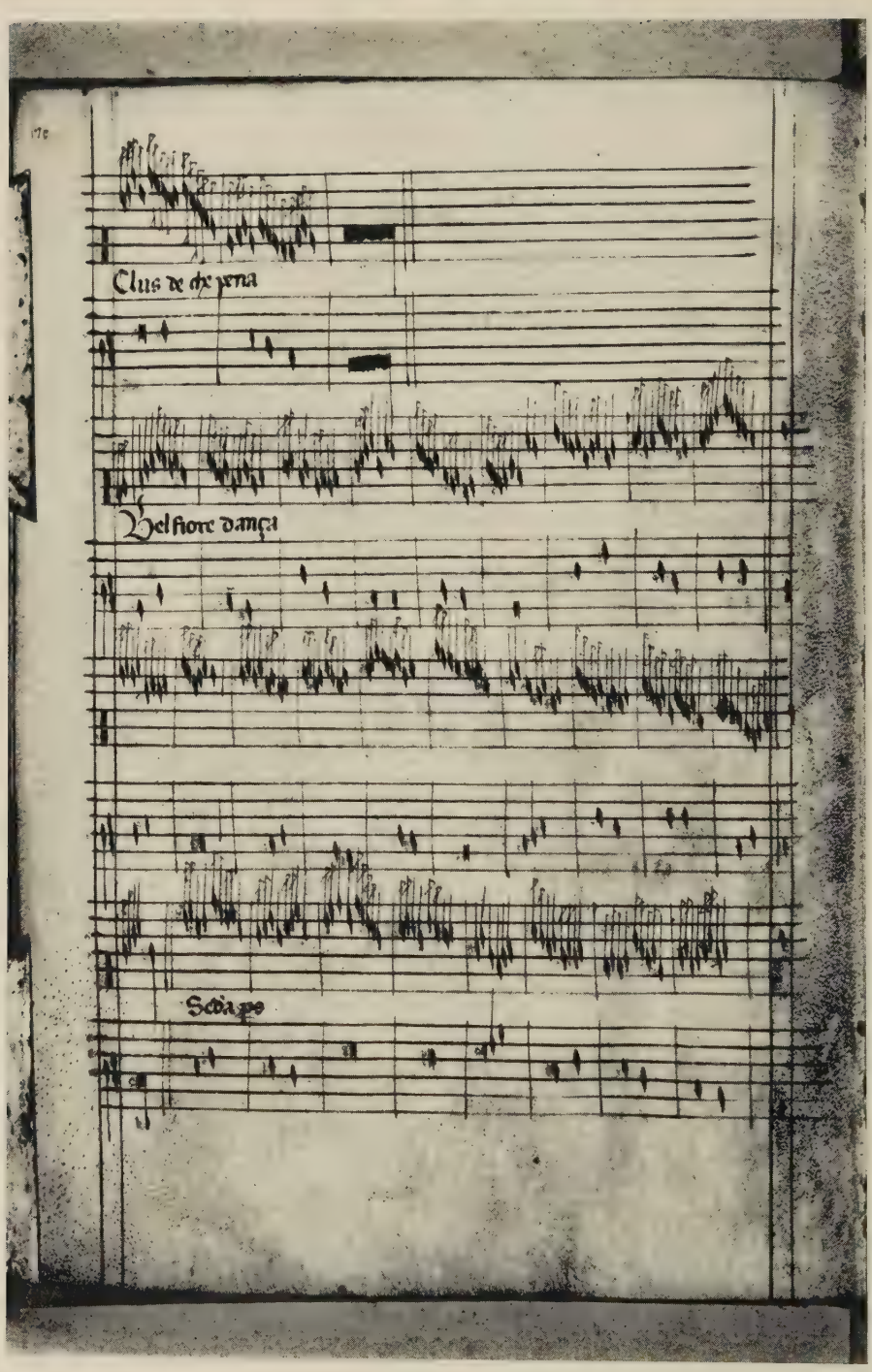
No. 75, fol. 88 = 79r



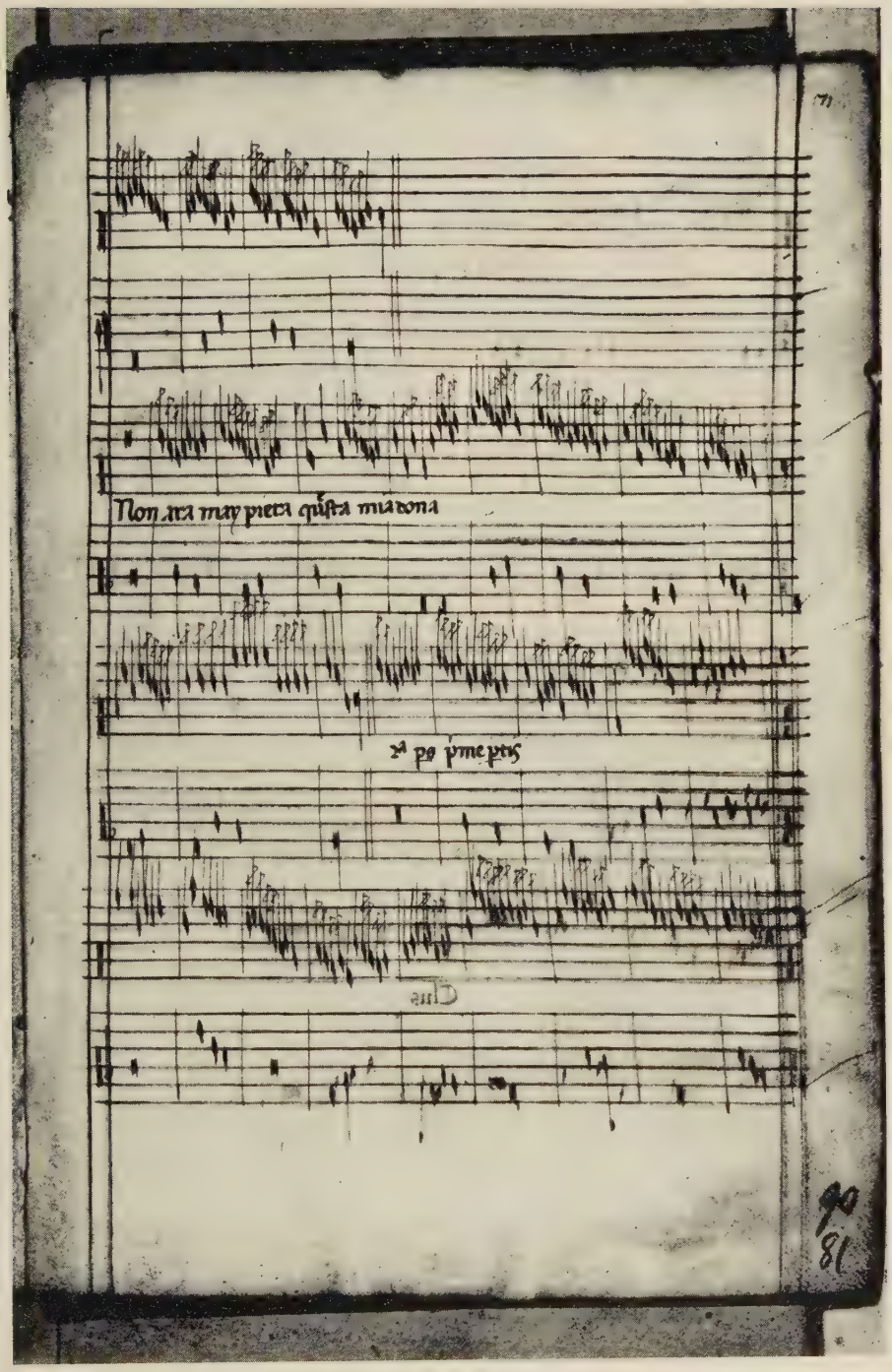
No. 76, fol. 88 = 79v



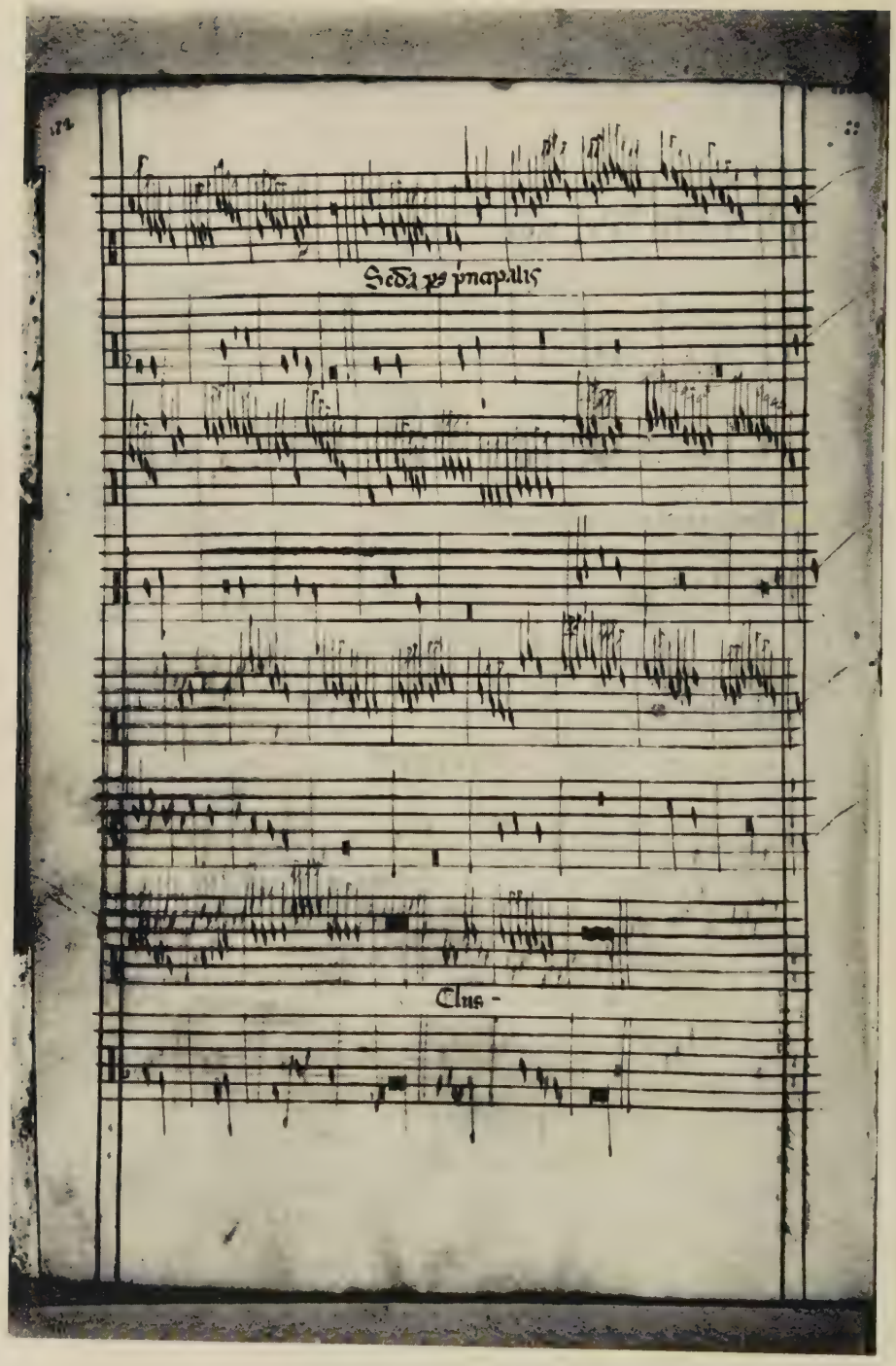
No. 77, fol. 89 = 80r



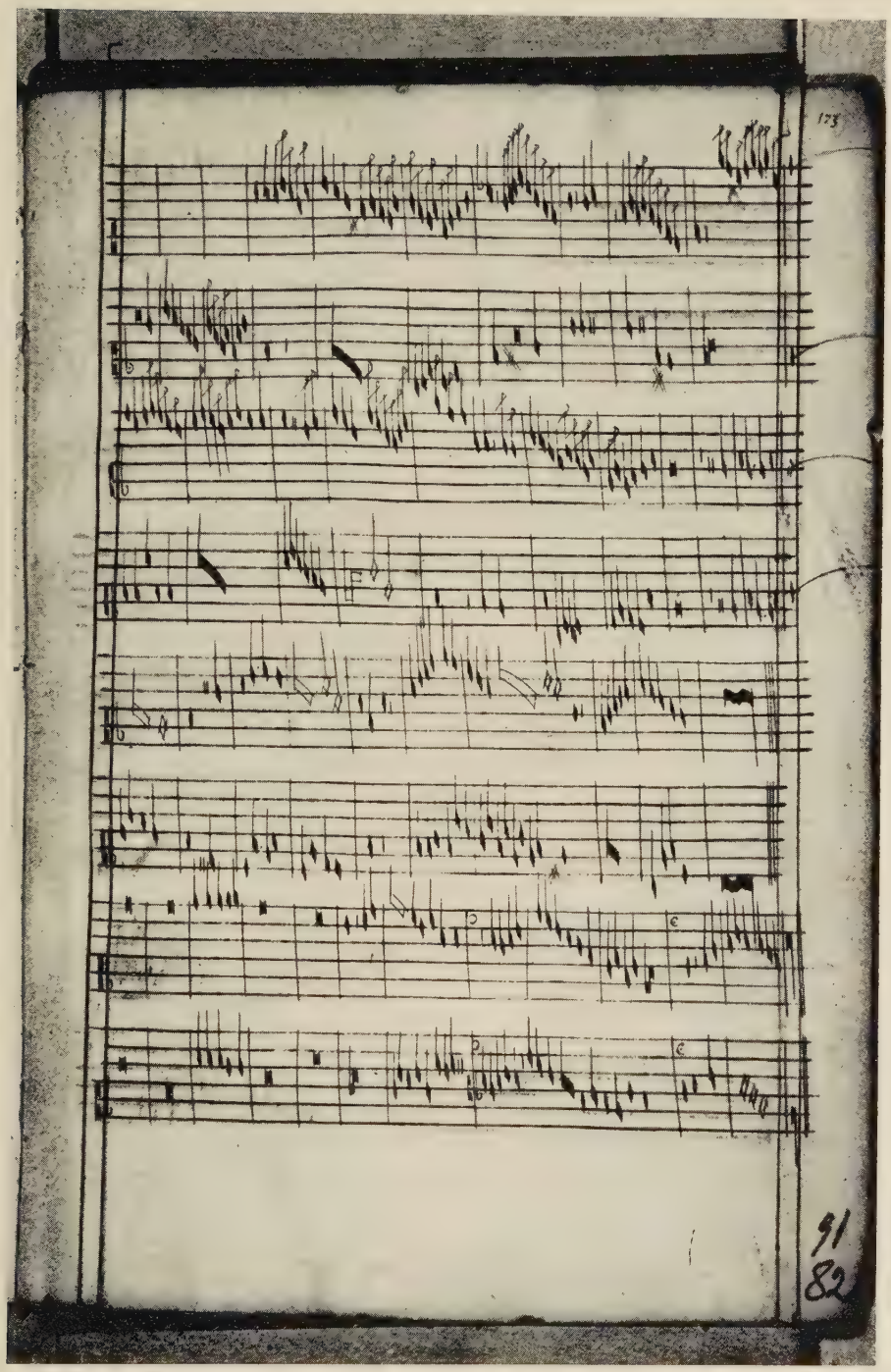
No. 78, fol. 89 = 80v



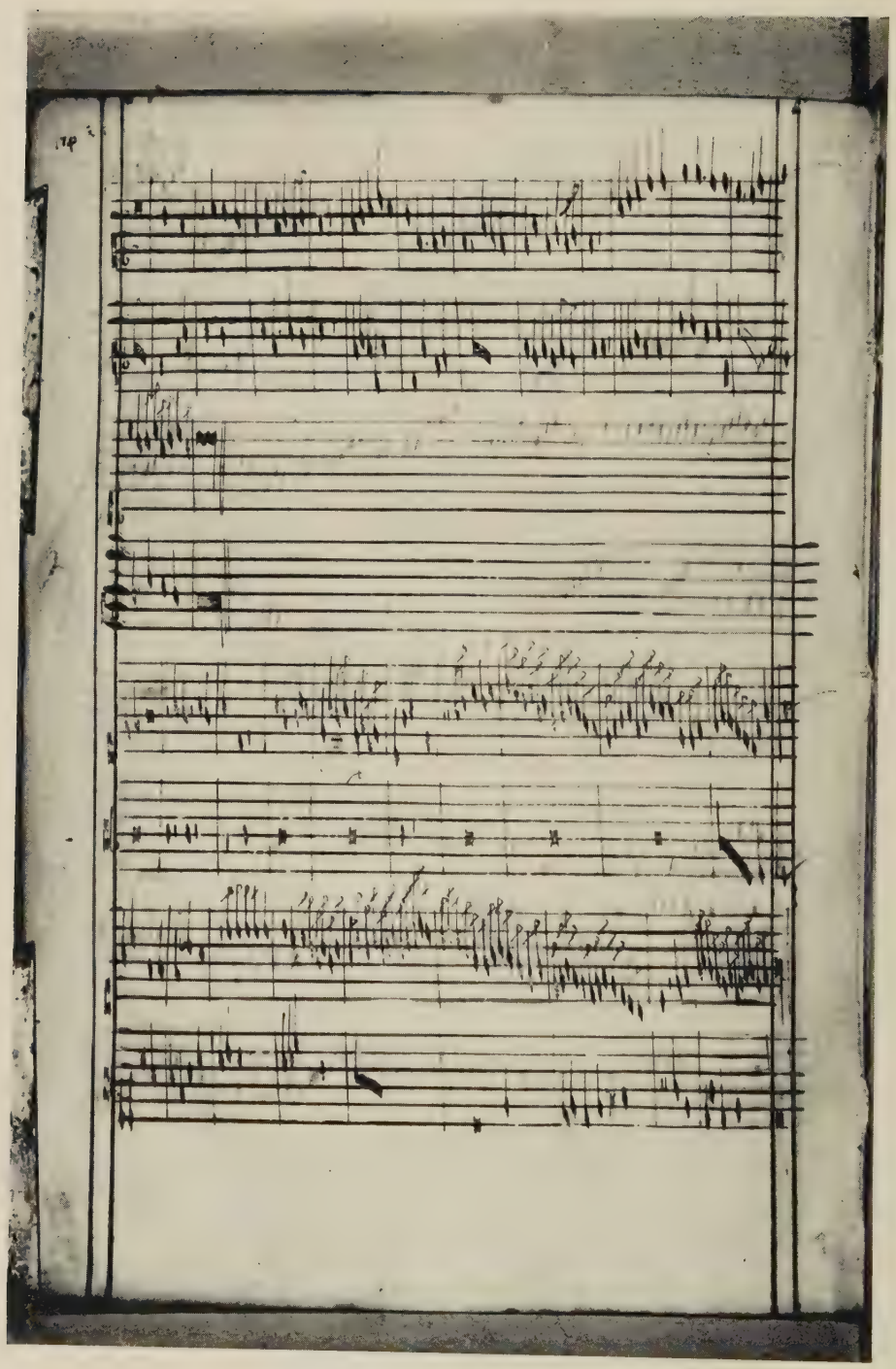
No. 79, fol. 90 = 81r



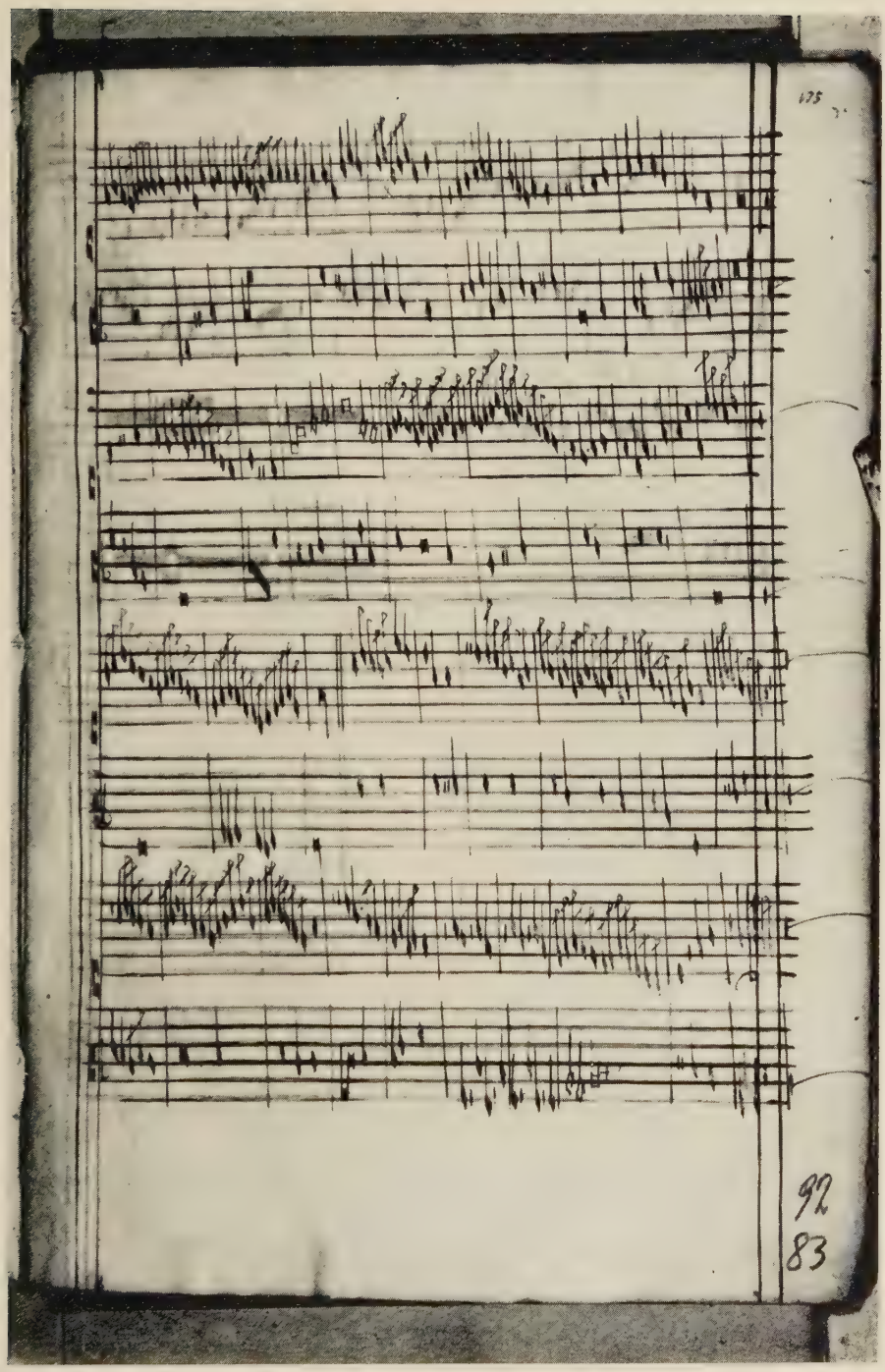
No. 80, fol. 90 = 81v



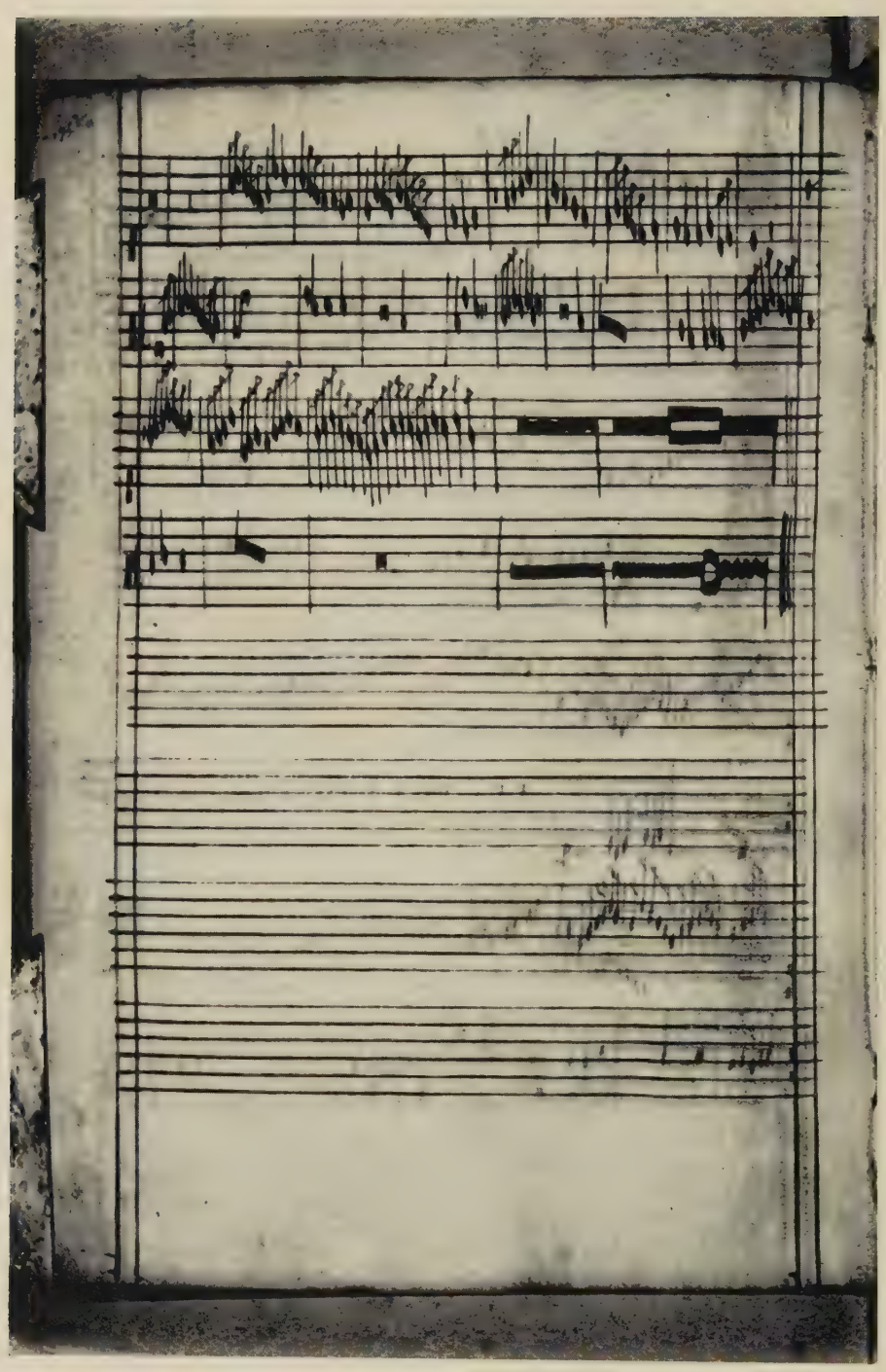
No. 81, fol. 91 = 82r



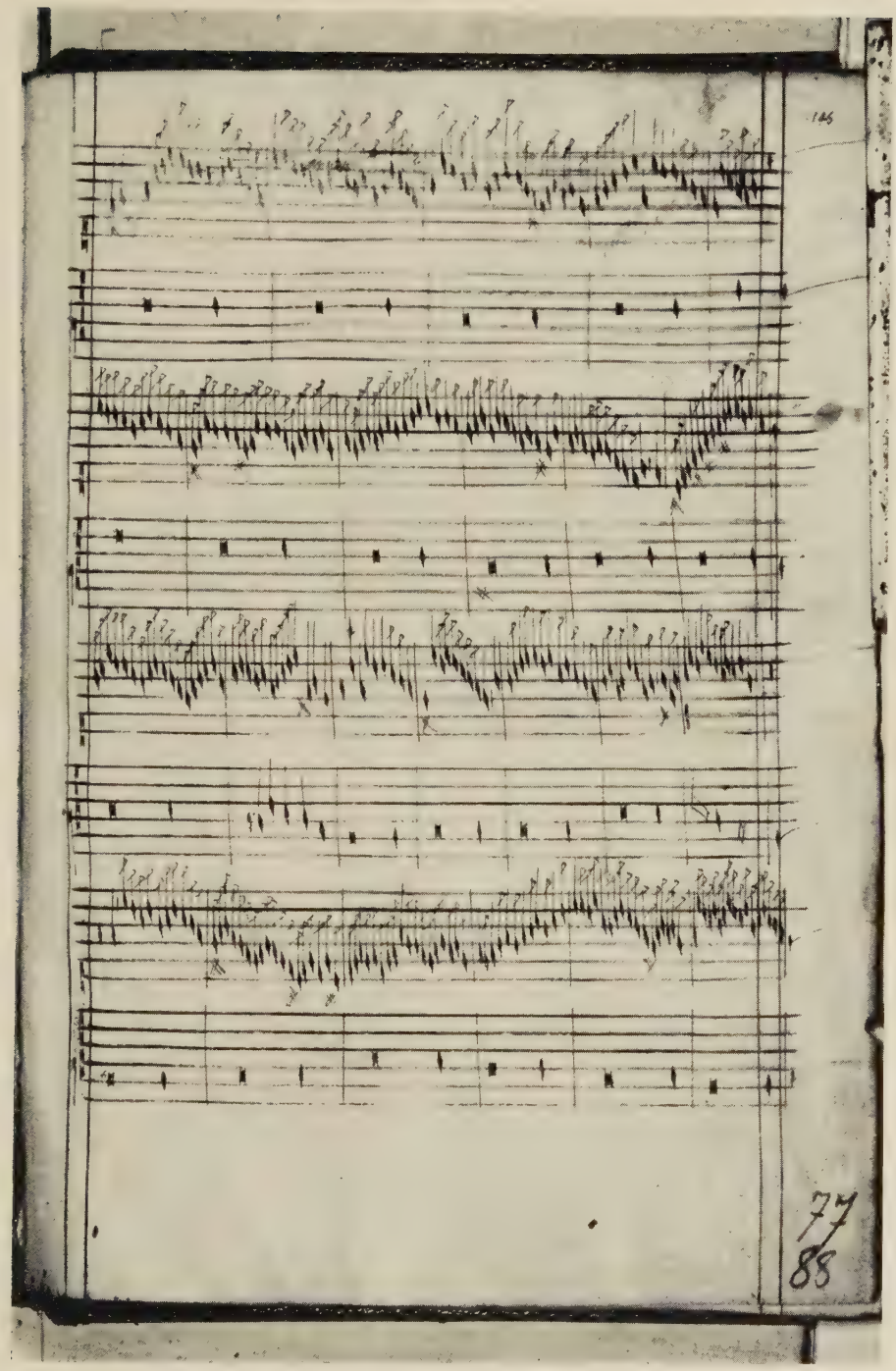
No. 82, fol. 91 = 82v



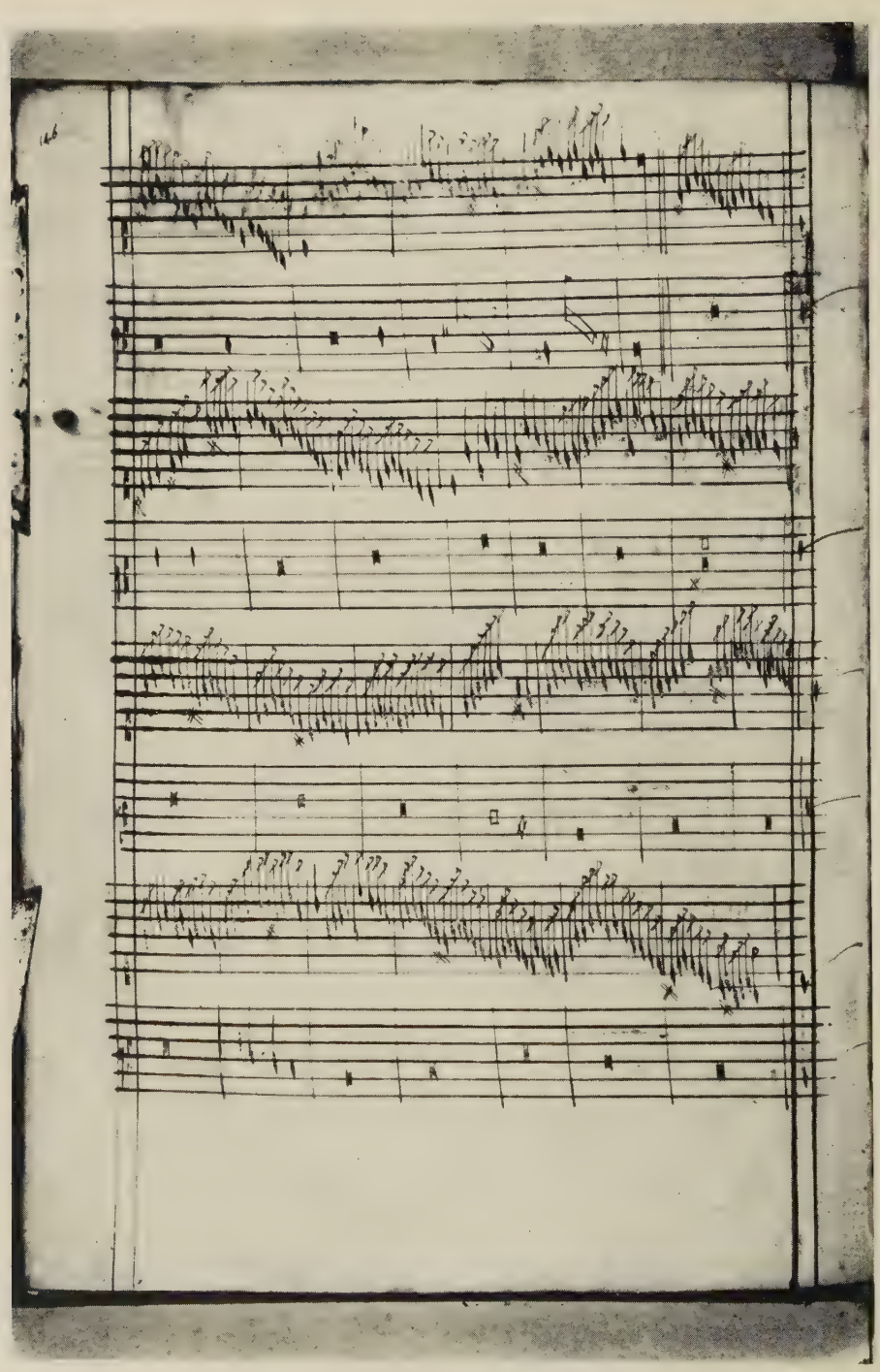
No. 83, fol. 92 = 83r



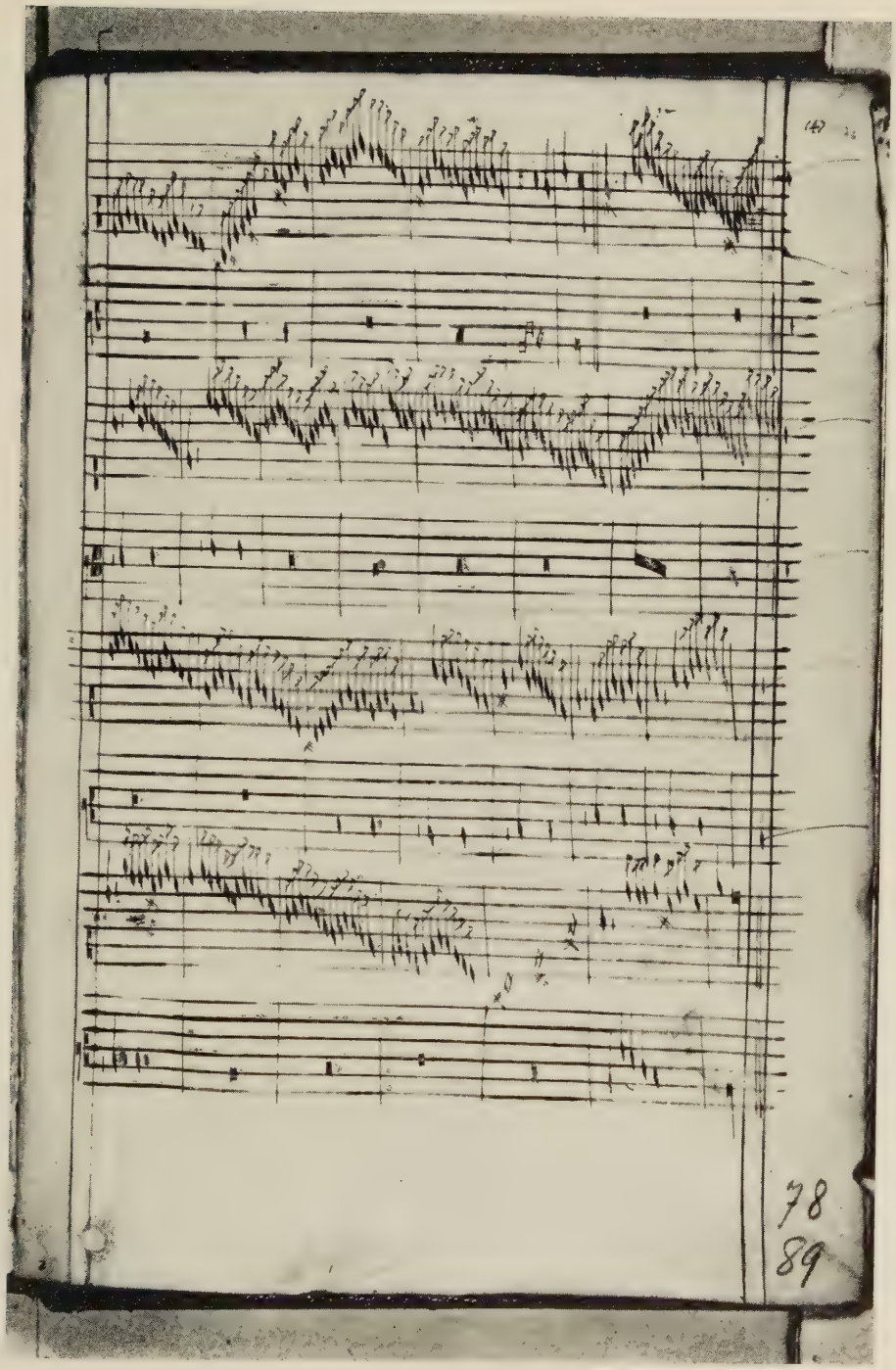
No. 84, fol. 92 = 83v



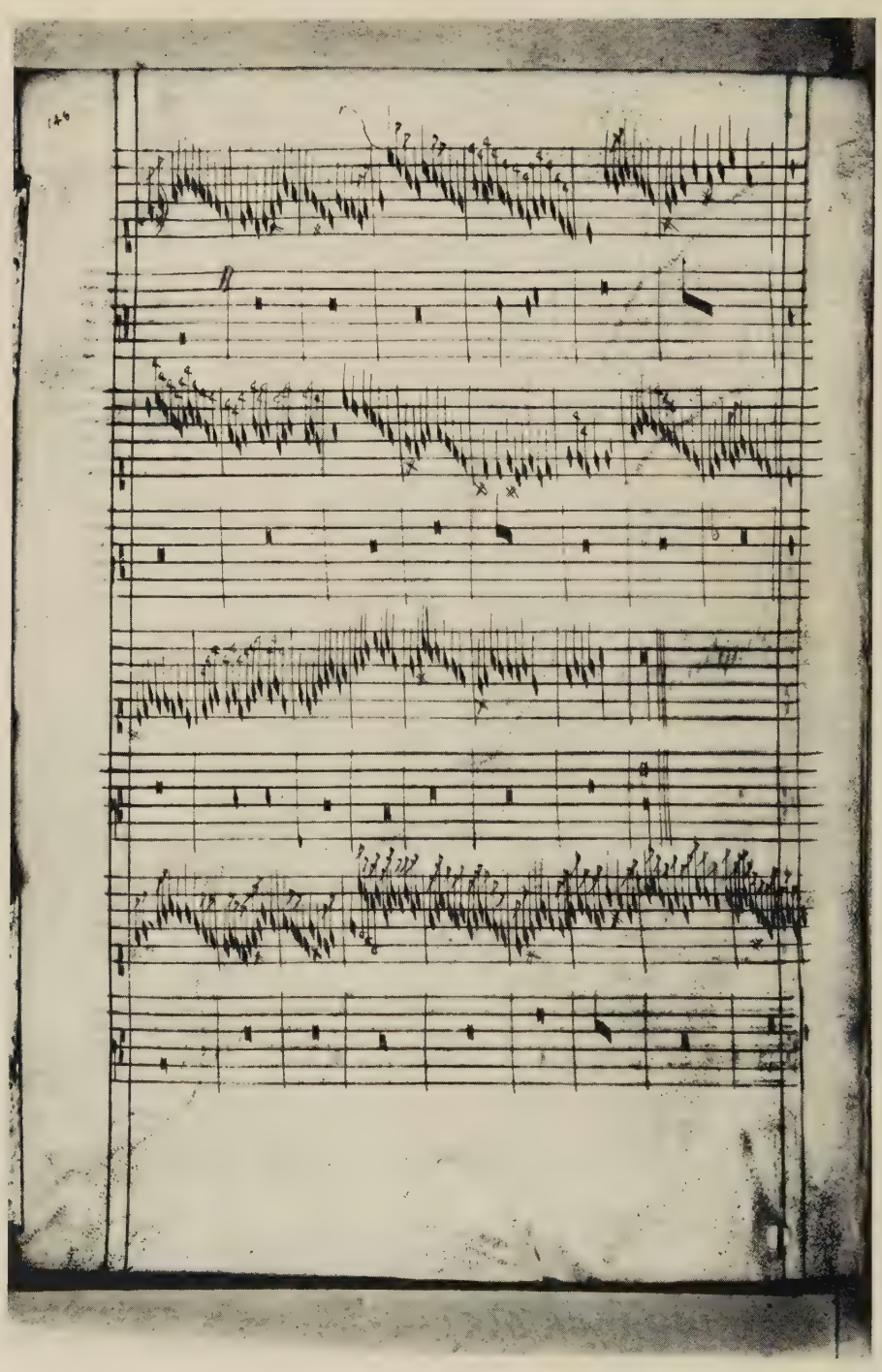
No. 85, fol. 77 = 88r



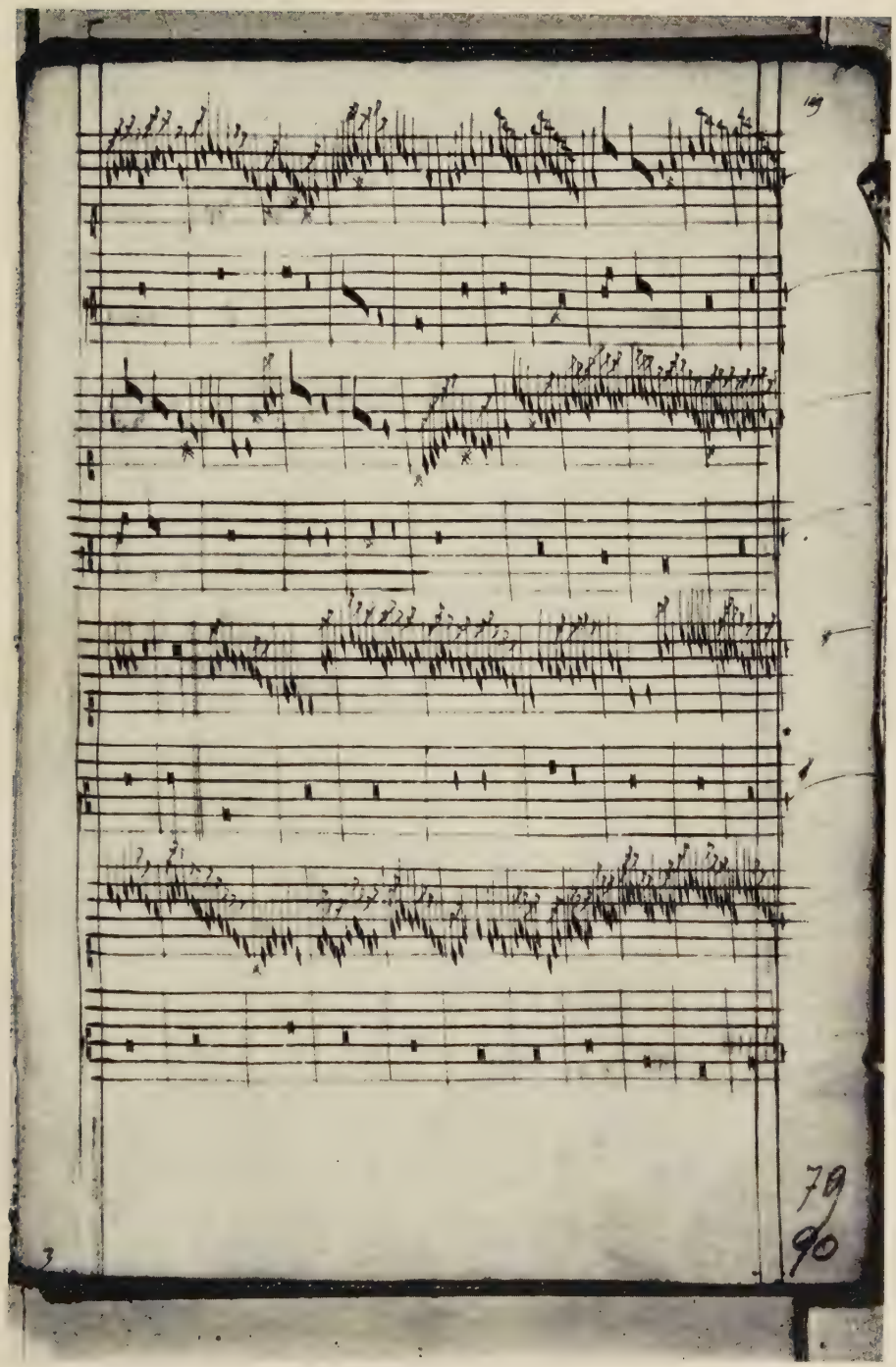
No. 86, fol. 77 = 88v



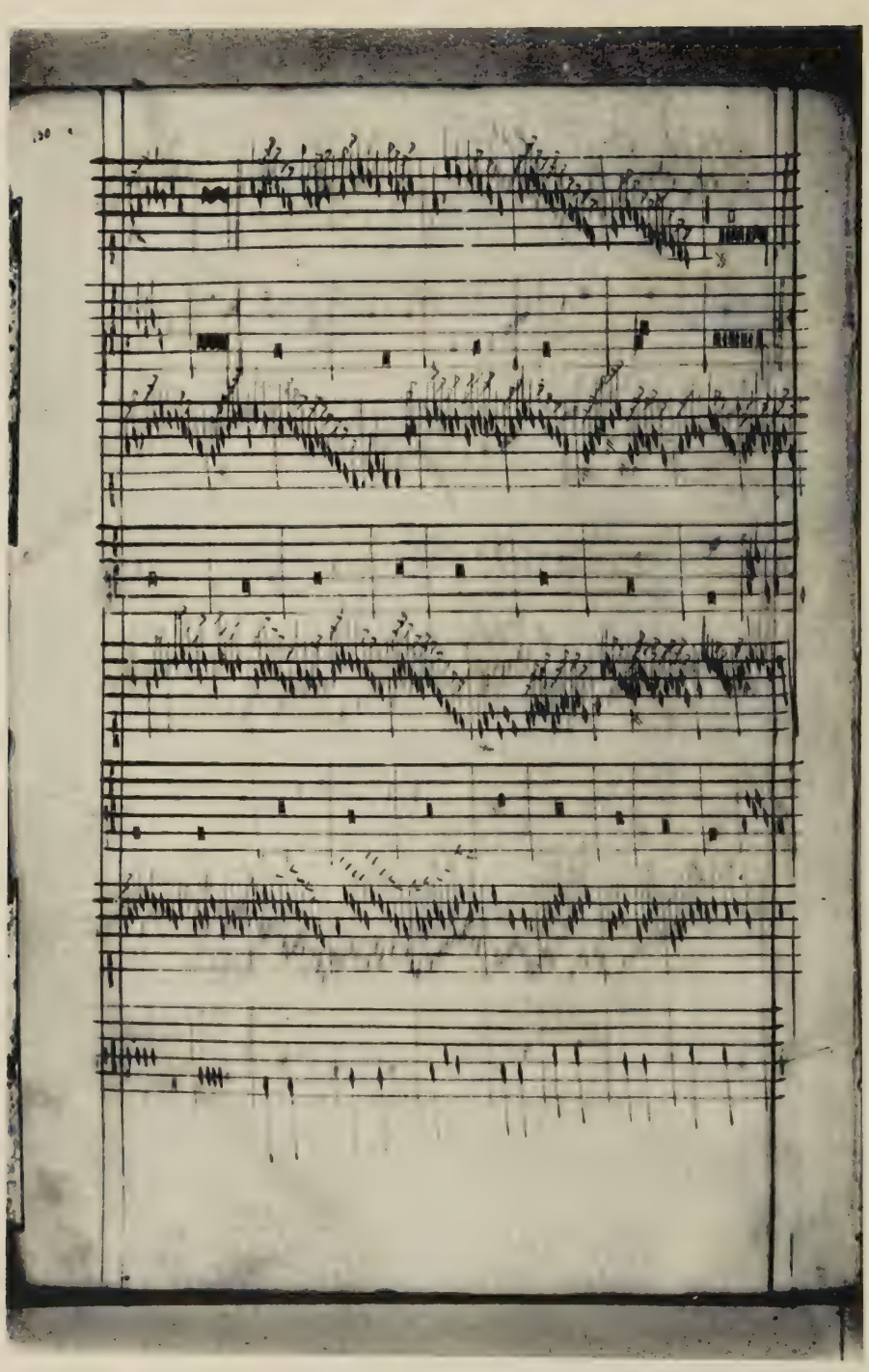
No. 87, fol. 78 = 89r



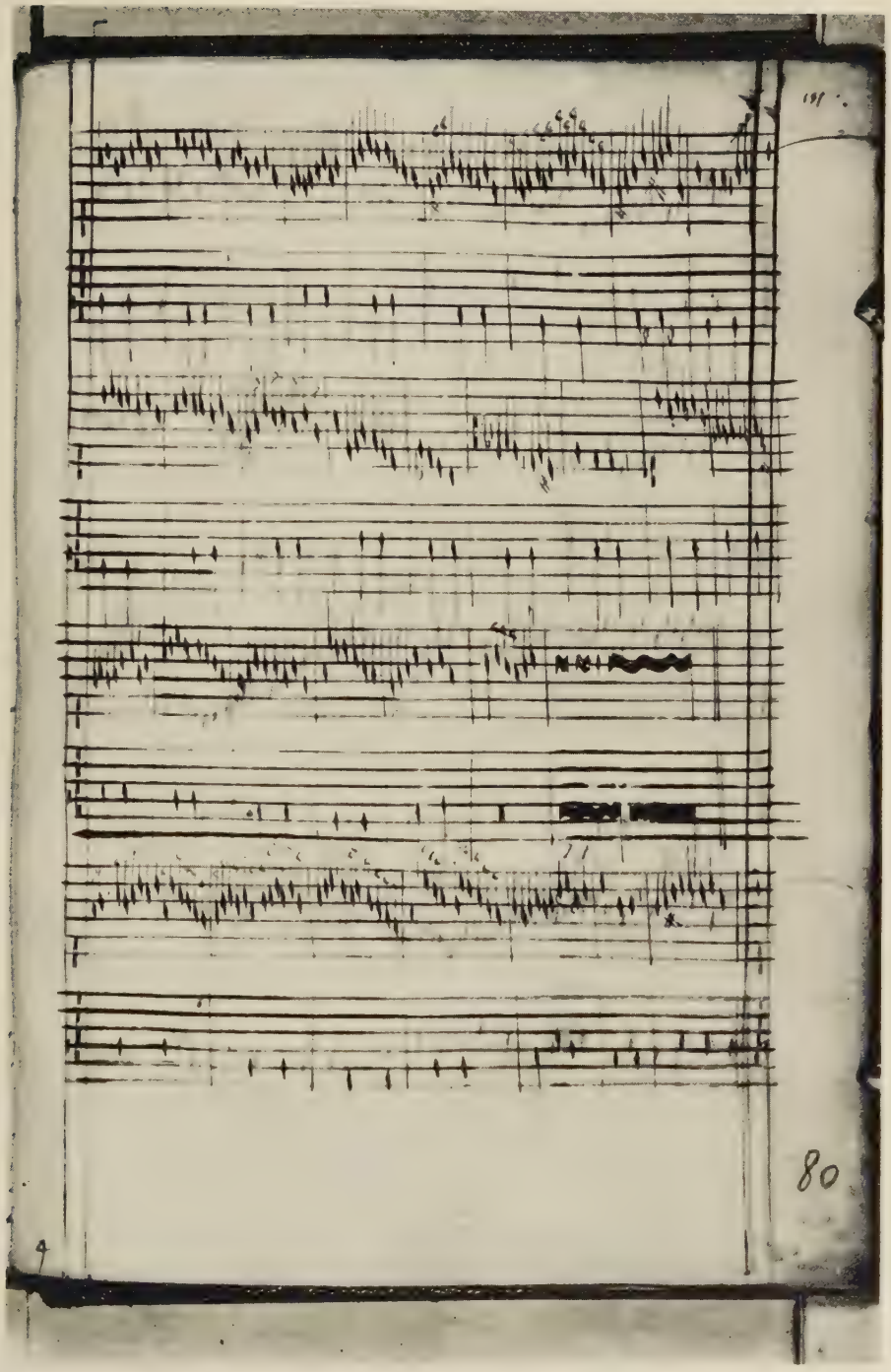
No. 88, fol. 78 = 89v



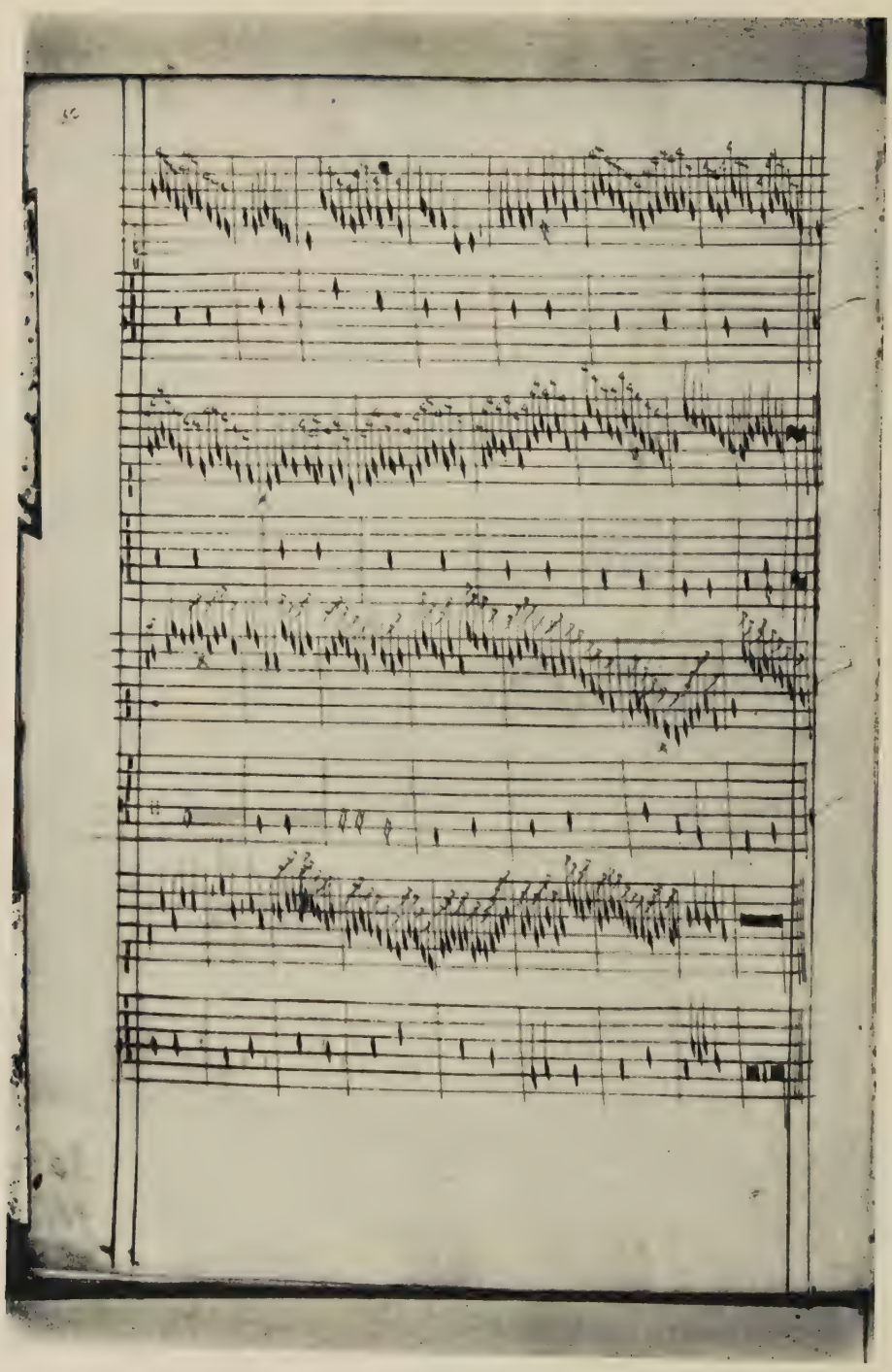
No. 89, fol. 79 = 90r



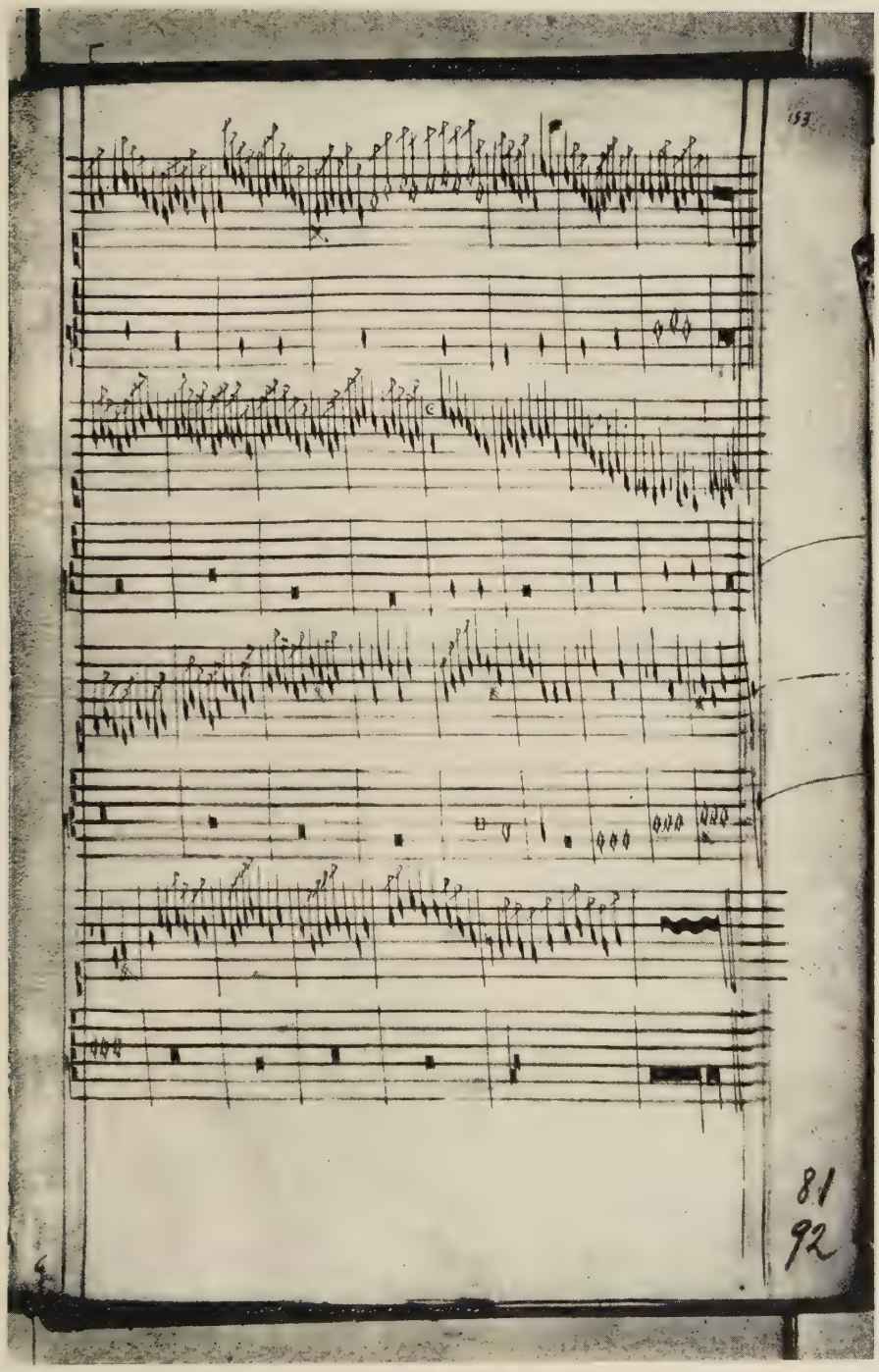
No. 90, fol. 79 = 90v



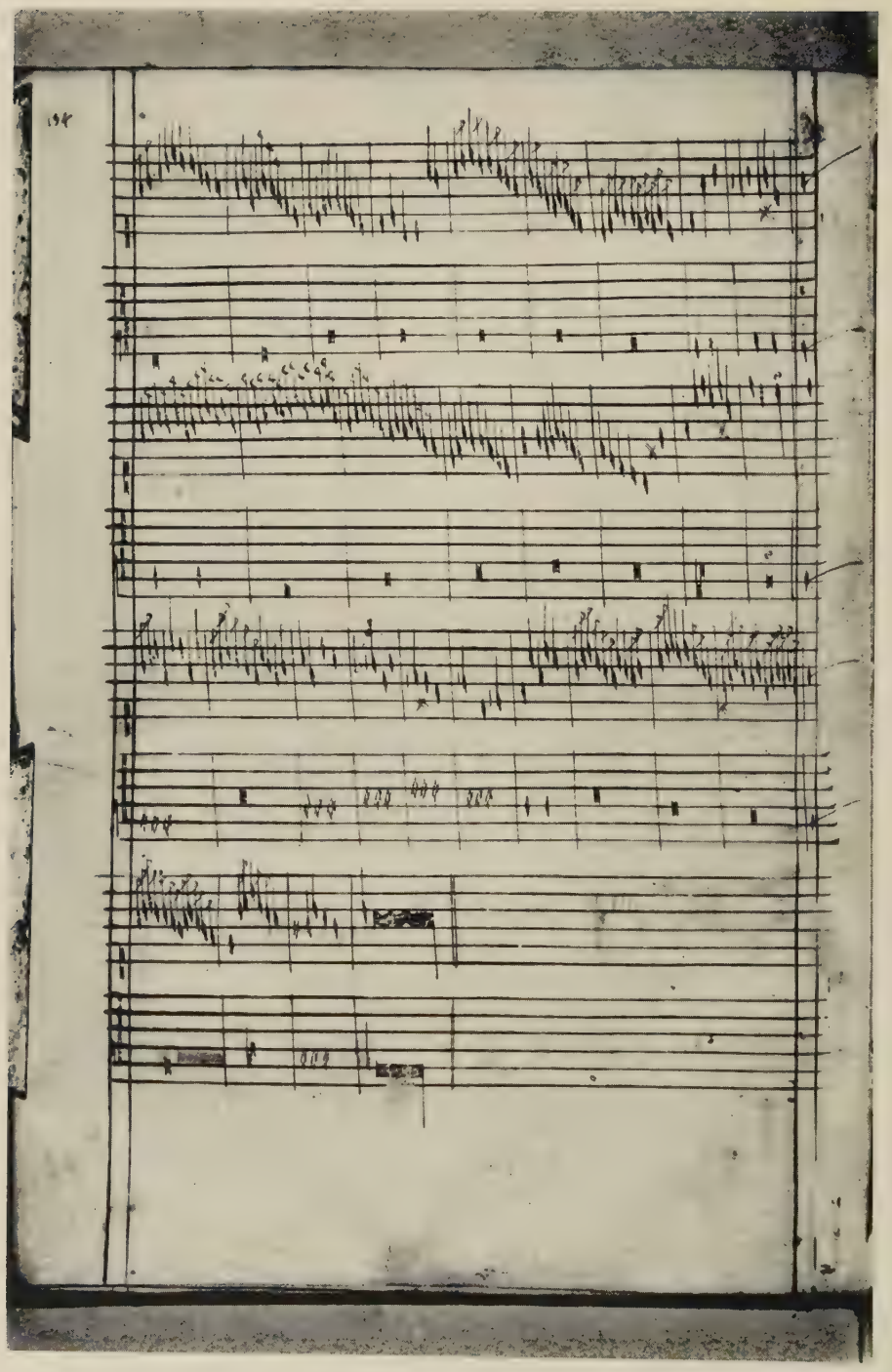
No. 91, fol. 80 = 91r



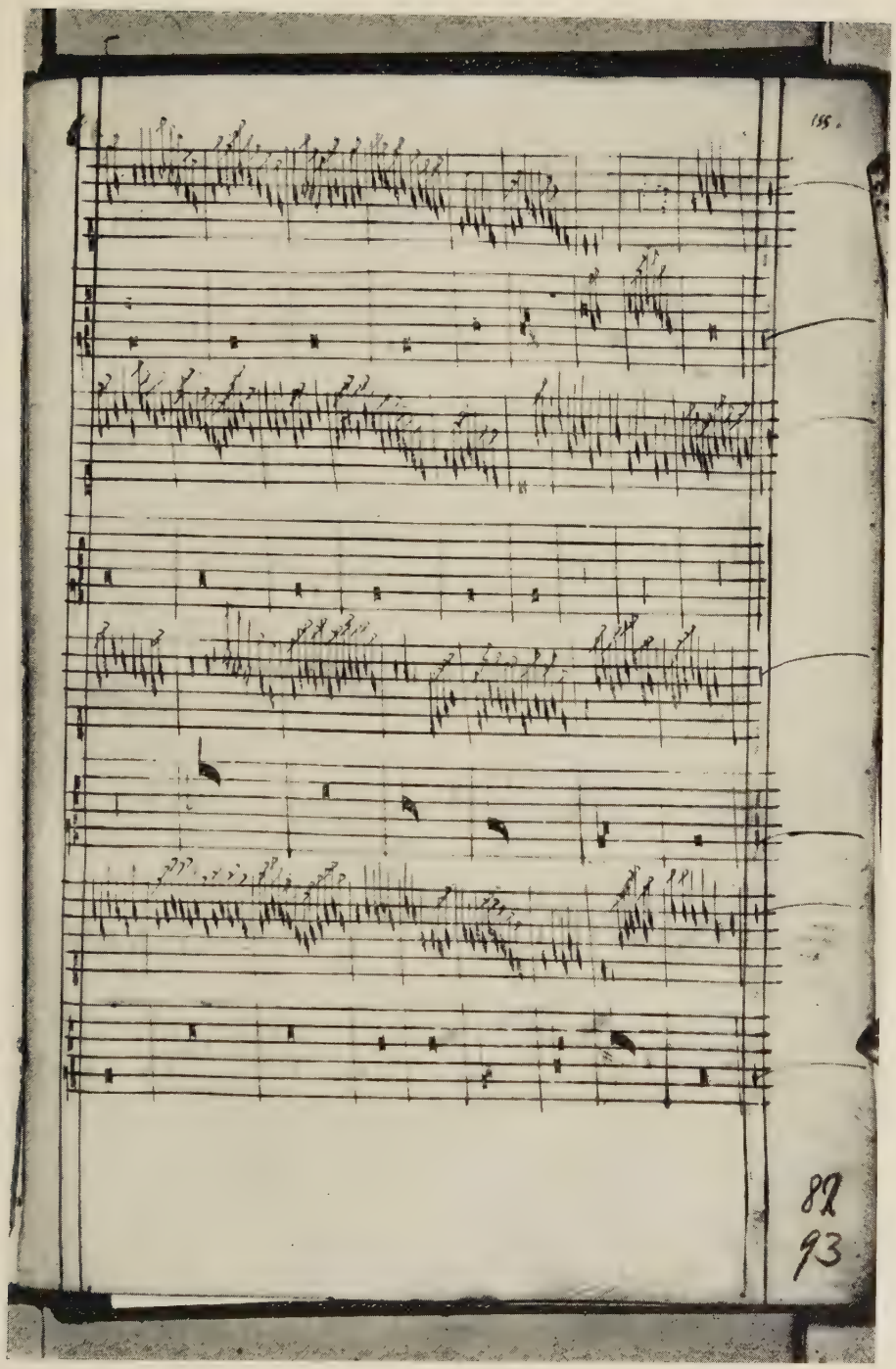
No. 92, fol. 80 = 91v



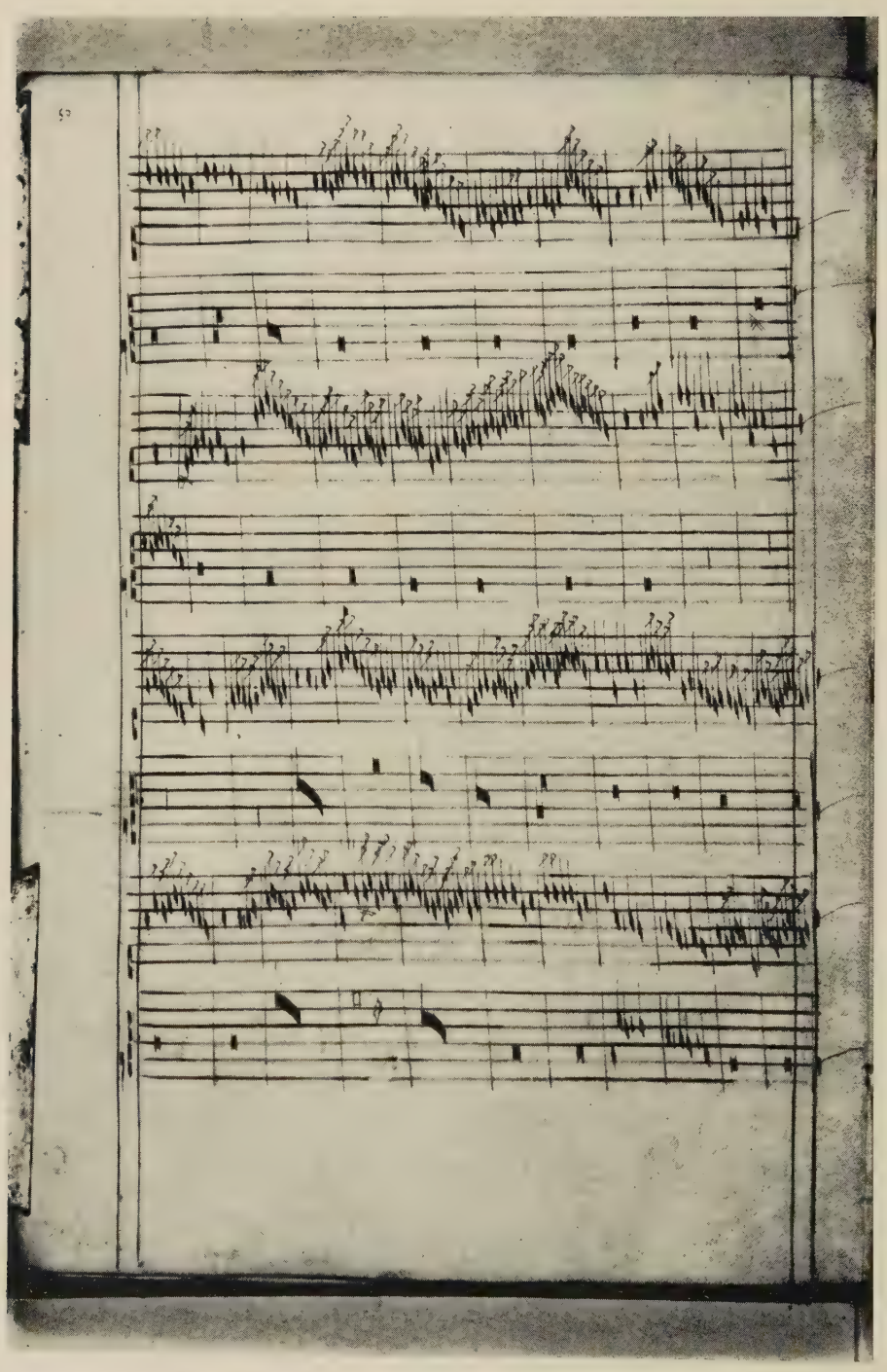
No. 93, fol. 81 = 92r



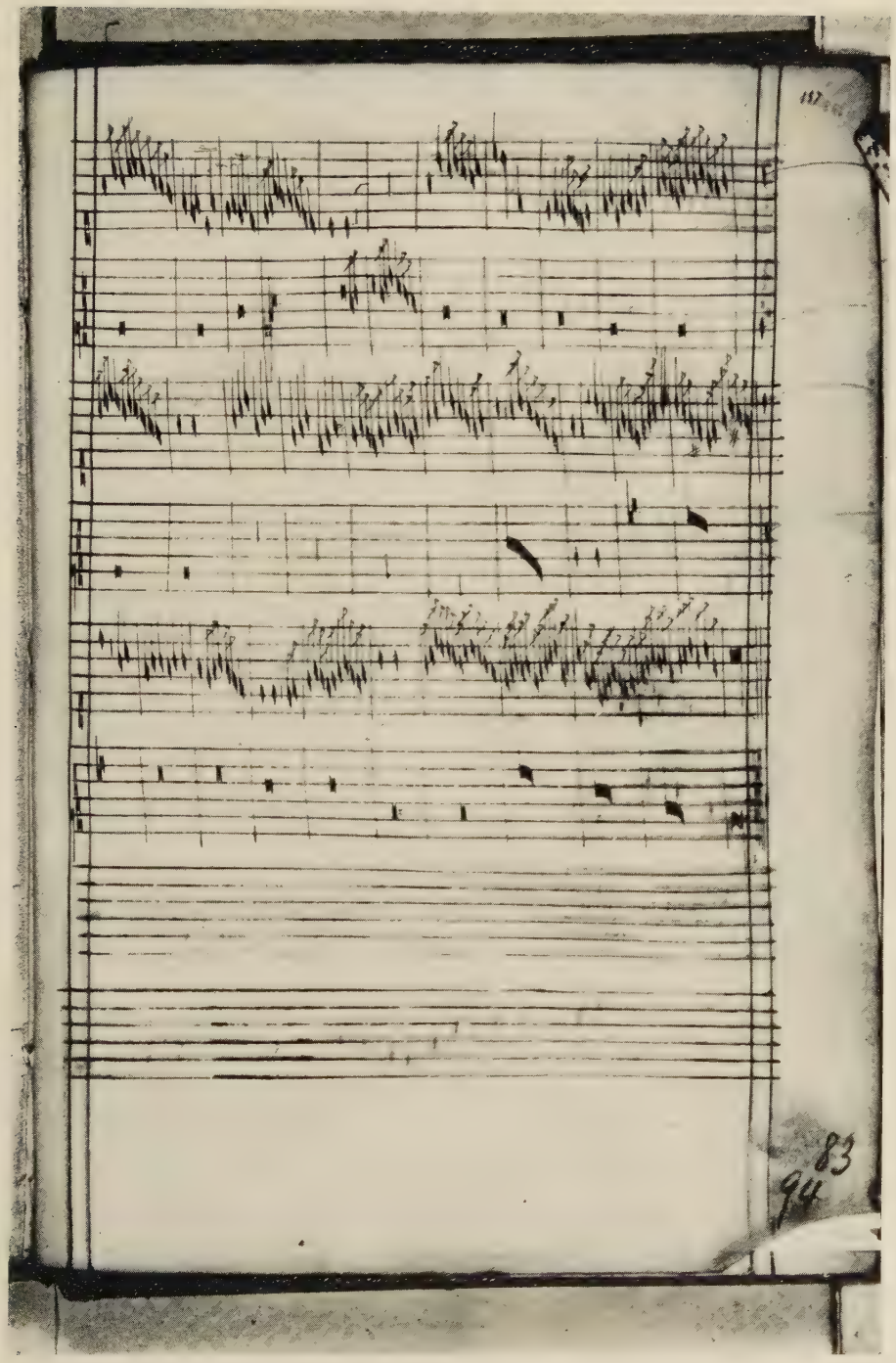
No. 94, fol. 81 = 92v



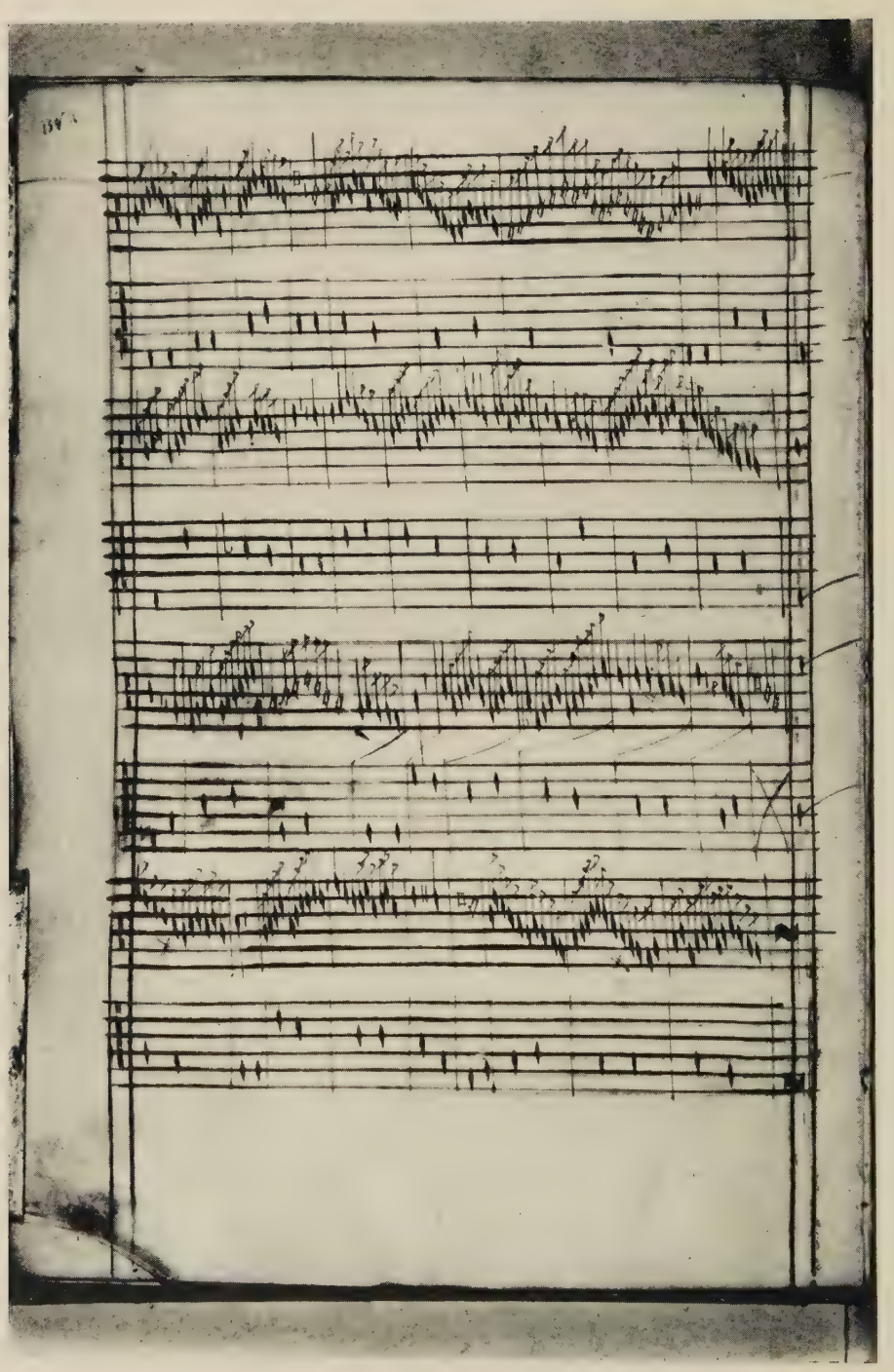
No. 95, fol. 82 = 93r



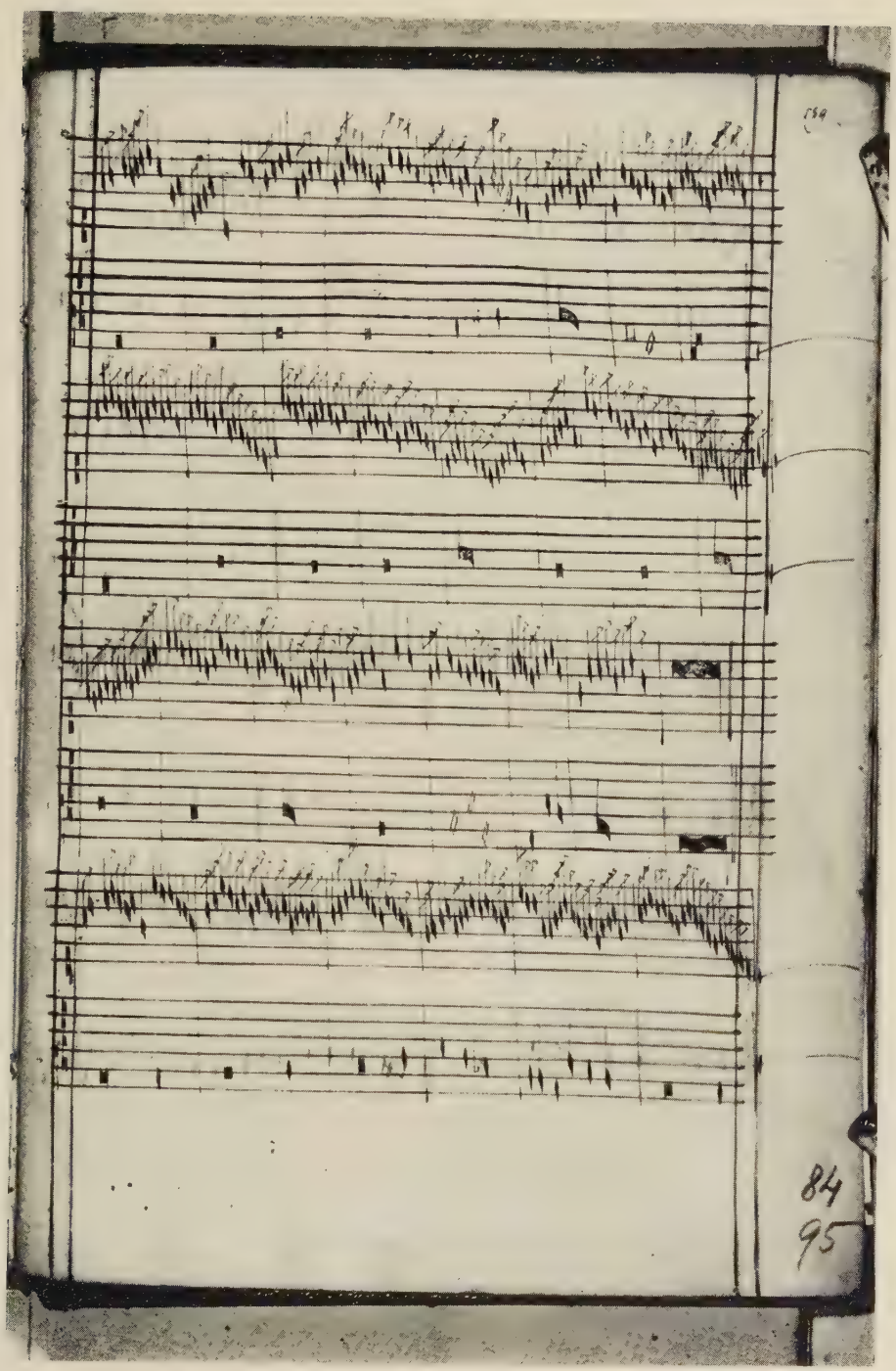
No. 96, fol. 82 = 93v



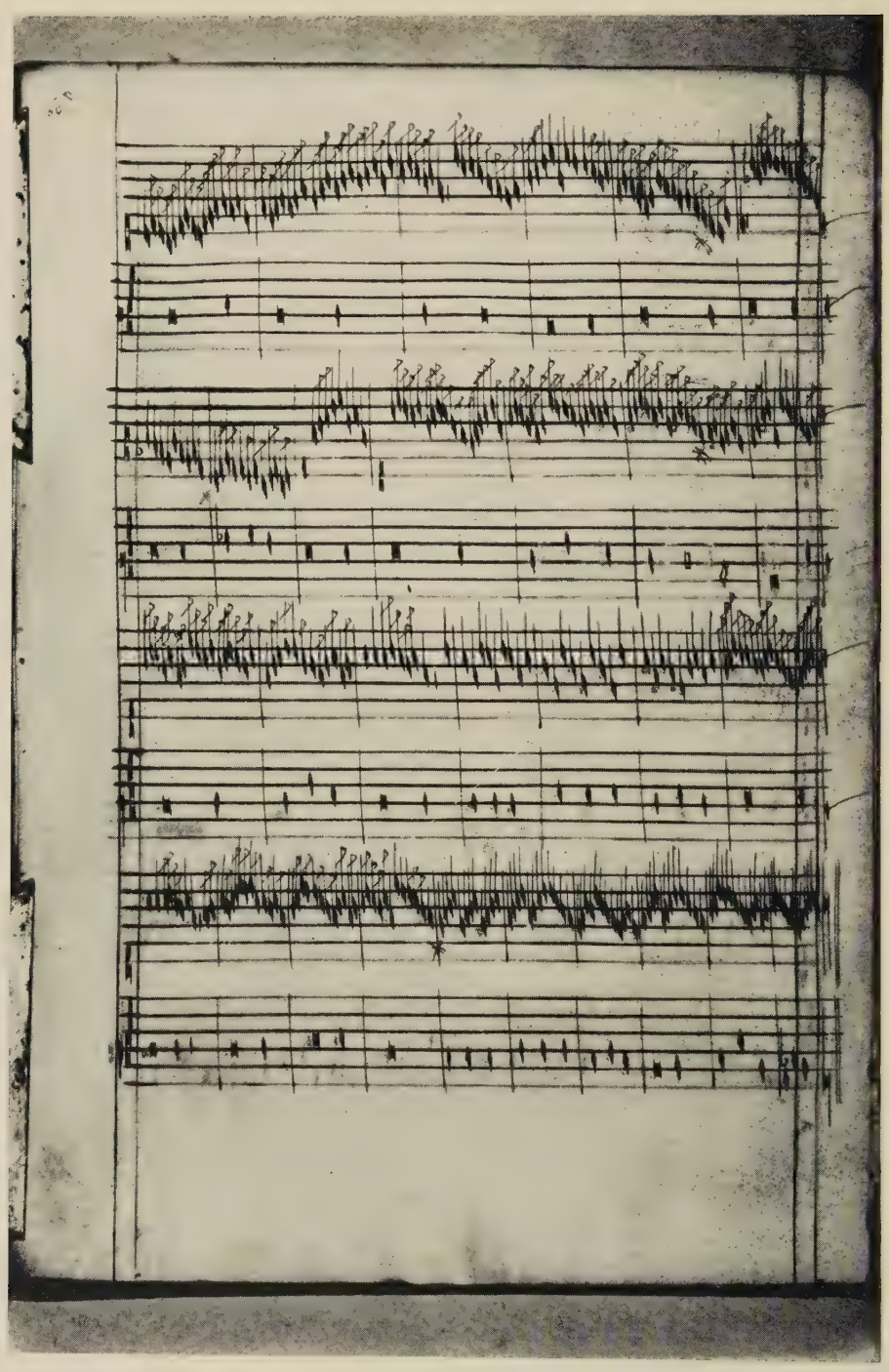
No. 97, fol. 83 = 94r



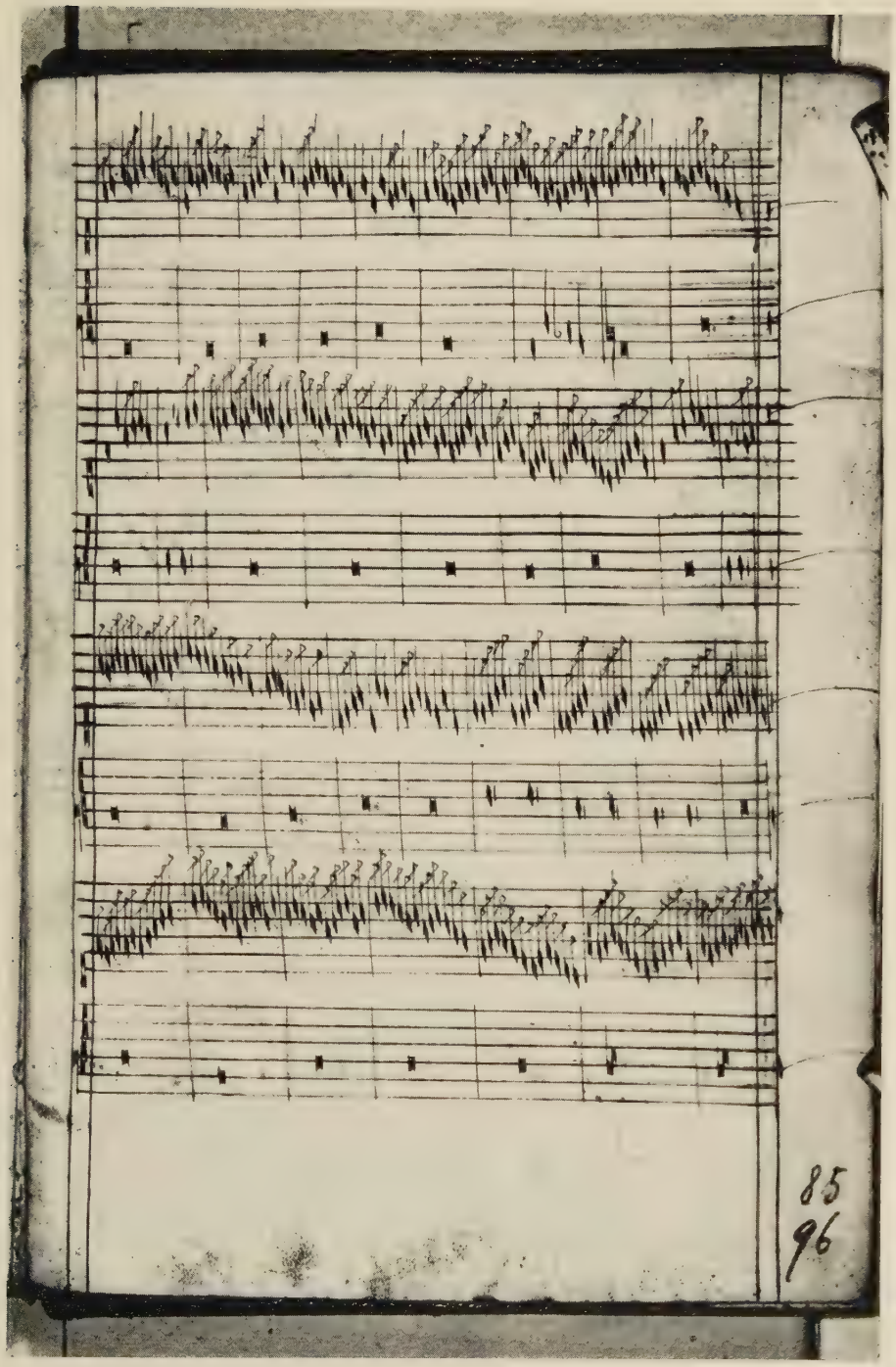
No. 98, fol. 83 = 94v



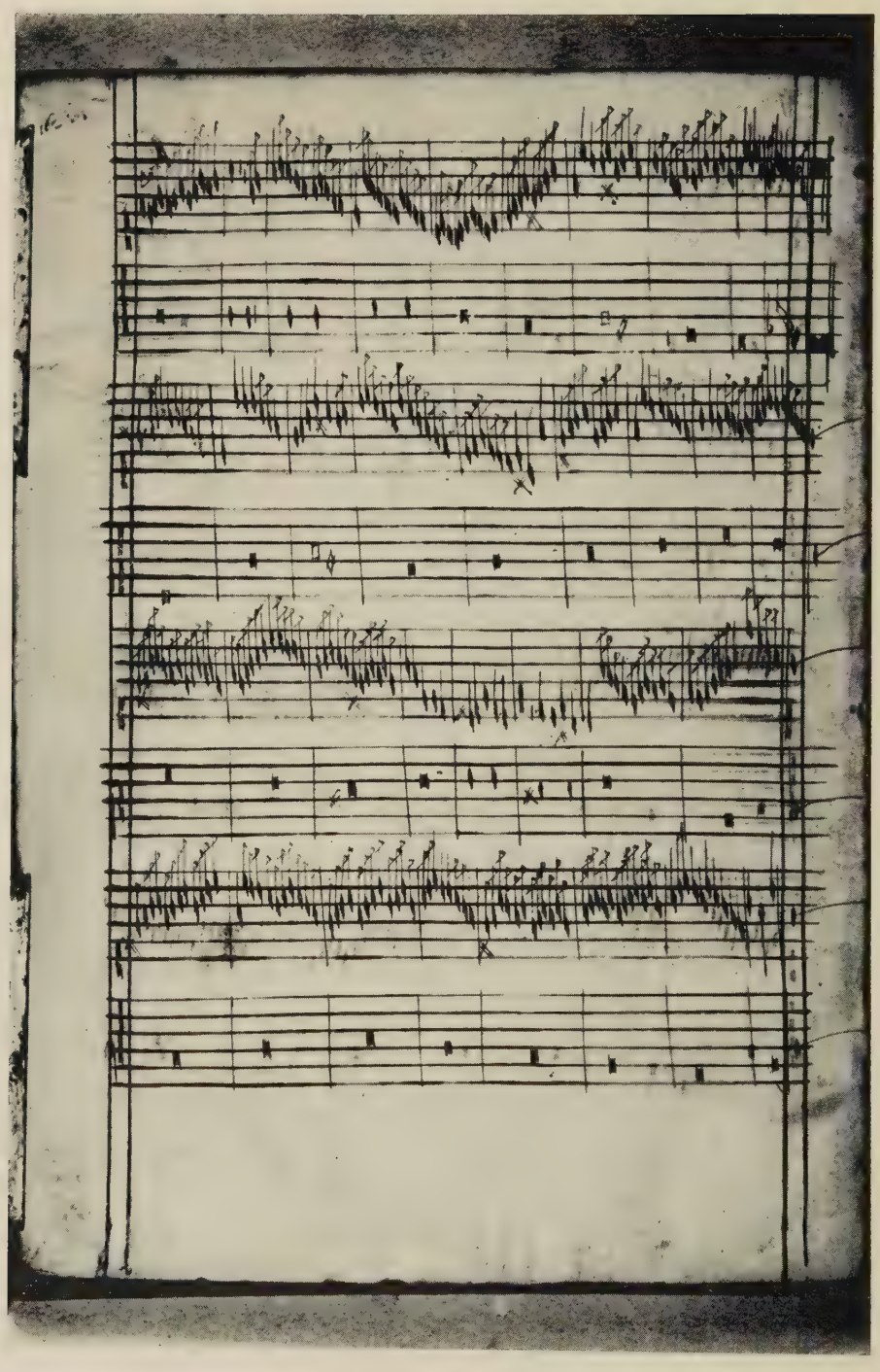
No. 99, fol. 84 = 95r



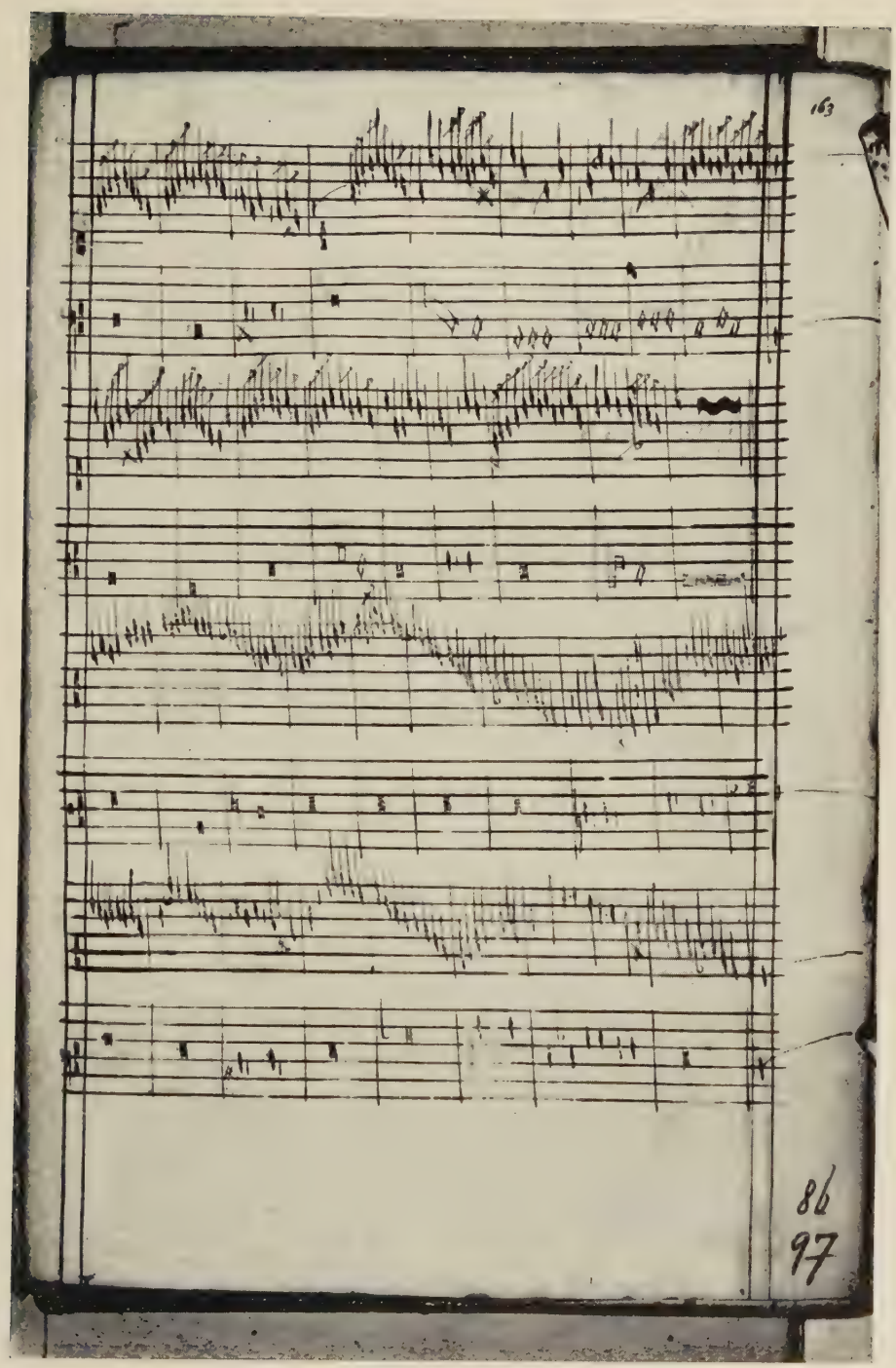
No. 100, fol. 84 = 95v



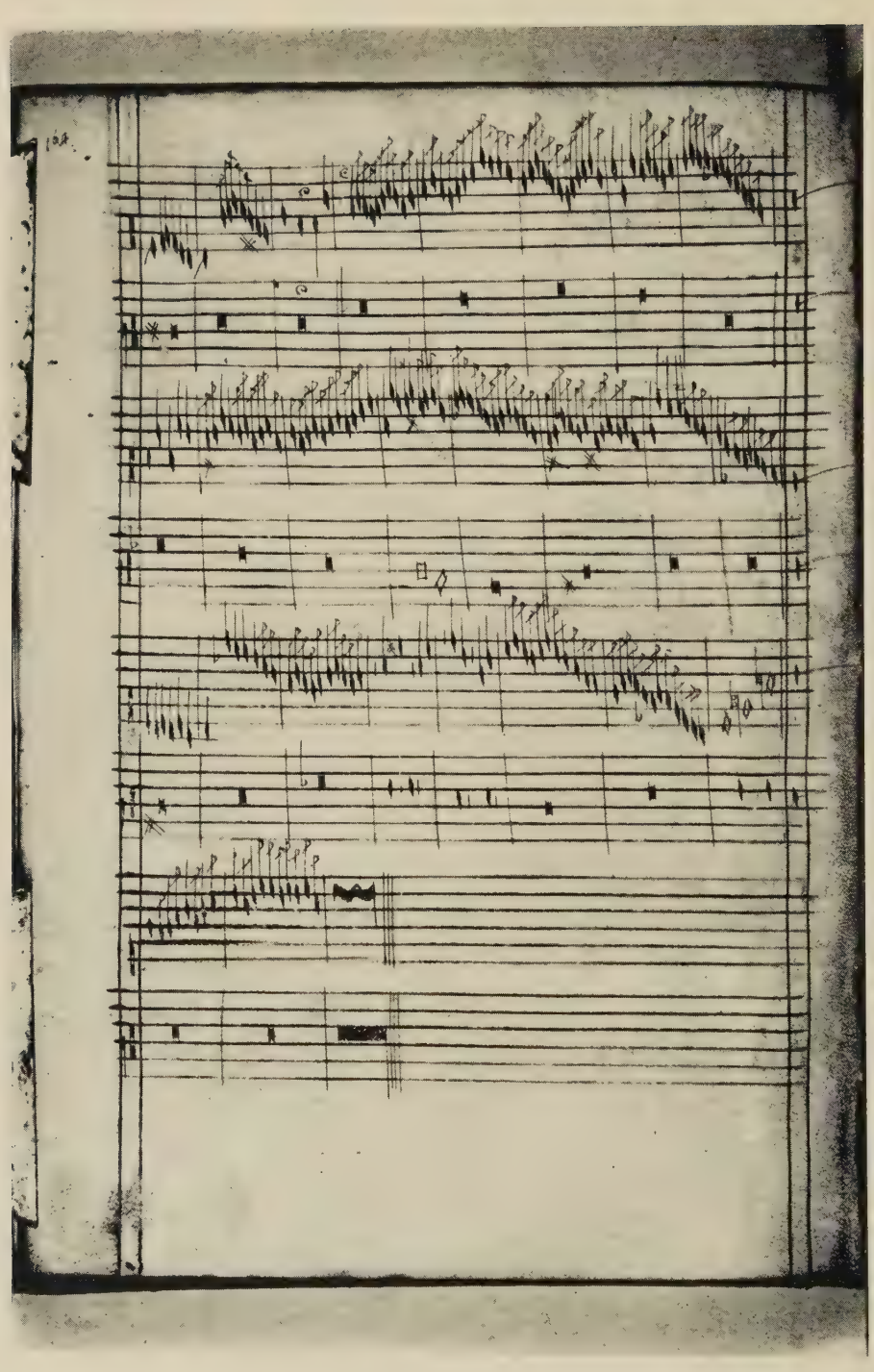
No. 101, fol. 85 = 96r



No. 102, fol. 85 = 96v



No. 103, fol. 86 = 97r



No. 104, fol. 86 = 97v

JOHANNES GHISELIN - JANNE VERBONNET
SOME TRACES OF HIS LIFE *

CLYTUS GOTTWALD

Johannes Ghiselin appears in music history out of complete darkness. The musical sources — especially the prints of Ottaviano Petrucci, who published the *Misse Ghiselin* in 1503 — leave us in conjecture about the composer. No information can be found in such biographical sources as letters and accounts. However, the designation "Jo. gysling Alias verbonnet", found in the manuscript Firenze Conservatorio, Ms. Basevi 2439 [1], besides the forms Ghiselin, Ghiselinus, Ghiseling, Gysling, Geysling and Greisling (by Hermann Finck), has rendered possible the unravelling of the problem by the musical sources themselves.

In the nineteenth century the interpretation of this "alias Verbonnet" differed widely. R. G. Kiesewetter, not knowing intimatly our source, expressed the astonishing opinion: "verbonnet (verd-bonnet = Grünkappe) möchte aber auch nur der Nebenname eines uns sonst wohlbekannten Componisten seyn" [2]. A. W. Ambros, epoch making historian of the fifteenth century, rejected this possibility: "Endlich aber bedeutet das alias nicht immers einen zweiten Namen, sondern zuweilen auch nur soviel, dass die Autorschaft eines Stückes zweifelhaft sei" [3]. Already in 1888 F. X. Haberl contradicted: "Im Kodex Basevi zu Florenz stehen mehrere, auch in Petrucci's Drucken vorfindliche Sätze von Jo. Ghisling alias Verbonnet. Ich halte gegen Ambros den Jo. Ghisling für die nämliche Person mit Verbonnet . . ." [4] Van der Straeten thought that: "Cette indication est un nouveau trait de lumière jeté sur le mystérieux compositeur néerlandais" [5]. Hugo Riemann considered the identity of Ghiselin and Verbonnet as probable: "Mit dem Verbener (Rudolf Gerber reads Verbenet) des Leipziger Kodex 1491 (Nikolaus Apel) hat er schwerlich etwas zu tun, noch

* *Editor's note:* The *Opera Omnia* of Ghiselin, edited by the present author are in course of publication as the 23rd in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae.*

[1] Ch. Van den Borren "Johannes Ghiselin" in *MGG* V, 61 ff. facs., plate 3.

[2] R. G. Kiesewetter, *Die Verdienste der Niederländer um die Tonkunst,* 1829, 85.

[3] A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik,* 5 vols. Leipzig, 1891, III, 225.

[4] F. X. Haberl, "Eine Komposition des Kardinals Jo. de Medicis (Pope Leo X)", *KmJb* 1888, 48f.

[5] E. Van der Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle,* 8 vols. 1867-88, VI, 293.

weniger mit dem erheblich jüngeren Ghiselin Danckerts. Da Ambros selbst unter Verbonnets Werken die Messen "Je nay dueul" und "Gratieuse" nachweist, die beide zu den von Petrucci gedruckten Ghiselins gehören, so hat die Anfechtung der Indentität beider nicht viel zu sagen" [6].

Musicology went on to consult sources for attribution of works to both "Doppelmeister" (Huber [7]). Dobroslav Orel established the identity of the Patrem Verbonnet in the Codex Speciálnik and the Credo of the mass "La belle se siet" by Ghiselin [8]. André Pirro proceeded from a critique of style, comparing the works of both composers [9]. On this method was based the present author's new monograph, treating the problem in length [10].

Research has brought to light some new facts in the question of double-attribution:

Missa "La belle se siet"	
Petrucci 1503	Ghiselin
Jena, Choirbook 32	Ghiselin
Annaberg, Choirbook 1248	Verbonnet
Hradec Kralove	
Codex Speciálnik	Verbonnet
Missa "Gratieuse"	
Petrucci 1503	Ghiselin
Quoted in the correspondence of Giovanni del Lago under the title "Gratieuse gent"	Verbonnet
Missa "Je nay dueul"	
Petrucci 1503	Ghiselin
Vienna, OeNB 1783	Verbonnet
Cambrai, Ms 20	anon.
Rondeau "Fors seulement"	
Petrucci, Canti C	Ghiselin
Rome, Vat. lat. 11953	anon.
St. Gallen 461	Verbonnet
Firenze, Basevi 2439	Ghiselin
Regensburg, Cod. Pernner	Verbonnet.

The interpretation of the name Ghiselin has been subject of dispute.

[6] H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte,* Bd. II, 1, (1920) 292.

[7] Kurt Huber, "Die Doppelmeister des 16. Jhdts", *Festschrift Sandberger,* 1918, 170.

[8] D. Orel, *Der Kodex Speciálnik,* Diss. Wien, 1914, 93.

[9] A. Pirro, *Histoire de la Musique de la fin du XIVe siècle à la fin du XVIe siècle,* Paris 1940, 223 f; "Pour l'Histoire de la Musique" *AM* 1931, 52.

[10] Clytus Gottwald, *Johannes Ghiselin-Johannes Verbonnet, Stilkritische Untersuchung zum Problem ihrer Identität,* Diss. Frankfurt/M 1960/61, (print in preparation).

Van der Straeten regarded Ghiselin as a family name. One found it in Flandres: in Ypres the Ghiselins were as numerous as ants (fourmillant), and they were found at Bailleul, at Bruges, Nieuport, Damme, Antwerpen and Gent [11]. Van den Borren takes Ghiselin to be a Christian name of the composer's father [12]. A third possibility is that the name derives from the town or village of the composer's birth. A certain Gislenus, monk of the order of St. Basilius, founded a monastery in the Haynaut in the 8th century, later known as the town of St. Ghisleni cella or St. Ghislain. Perhaps St. Ghislain (or the village Ghislenghien situated between Brussels and Tournai) was the birthplace of Johannes Verbonnet.

The master's only autograph letter, written in 1491, is signed "Verbonetus cantor"; so "Verbonnet" seems to be the family name used by the composer at this time. The name Ghiselin appears in the prints of Ottaviano Petrucci (not before 1501). Maybe Petrucci was well informed of the circumstances of his composer; probably Verbonnet wished to edit his works under the name Ghiselin, for no edition was printed under the name Verbonnet and none anonymously [14].

The first trace of the composer leads to the court of the Duke Ercole I. d'Este at Ferrara. Ercole (died 1505) and his daughter, Isabella d'Este, later Marchioness of Mantua, were admirable Maecenas. Andrea da Mantova, singer of the Papal Chapel, praised Ercole "dell'arte nostra vero monarco" [15]. In 1487 Ercole sent one of his singers, Cornelius van Lillo, to the Low Countries to invite the famous "zangmeester" Jacob Obrecht to the court of Ferrara. After a leave of absence of six month Obrecht returned in 1488 to Bruges [16]. The first notice about Ghiselin-Verbonnet is from 1491, just at the time when Jacob Barbireau died at Antwerp. It is an autograph letter in Italian addressed to the Duke Ercole and dated July 10, 1491 [17]. Here is a translation in part:

> Returning from my journey I learned of the death of Dom Francischino Capraro. A benefice sinecure at the church of St. Matthew and St. Christopher at Ribera, yelding a yearly profit of fifty-five fiorins has thereby been vacant. I beg your Highness to grant my (little) son (figliollo) Ercole with this benefice...

[11] Van der Straeten, *op. cit.*, VI, 293.

[12] Ch. Van den Borren, "Ghiselin Danckerts" in *MGG* V, 66f.

[13] Graesse-Benedikt, *Orbis latinus*, Berlin, 1909, 139.

[14] For further details cf. Gottwald, *op. cit.* chapter I.

[15] A. Della Corte, "Ferrara" in *MGG*, IV, 57.

[16] Anny Piscaer, *Jacob Obrecht*, 1938, 10; and Bain Murray, "New Light on Jacob Obrecht's Development" in *MQ* XLIII, 1957, 505.

[17] Modena, Archivio di Stato, Musica e Musicisti... Busta 2, discovered by Prof H. Osthoff, original text cf. Gottwald, ch. I.

This record poses many problems. Normally, it could be stated that Ghiselin-Verbonnet was married, and that his son was a clergyman. Undoubtedly the son was born while his father was in the service of Ercole, because he named his son after his patron. If the son was a clergyman he must have been at least about twenty years old and must have therefore been born in about 1470. At this time, however, the Duke had not yet founded his chapel [18]. Therefore, the *institutio corporalis* of the little Ercole could not meet the canonical requirements. But the investiture of a minor child was by no means impossible in a time when Pope Innocent VIII celebrated the weddings of his bastards and his grandchildren in the rooms of the Vatican.

Probably the facts are as follows: Ghiselin-Verbonnet must have spent a few years at the court of Ferrara. In this time a son was born of a legal marriage or, if Verbonnet was a clergyman, of concubinage. In honor of his patron he (Verbonnet) named his son Ercole. To secure his son's future, the father begged the Duke for a prebend. If one estimates the time from Verbonnet's entry in the ducal chapel to the birth of the son as two years, and the time from birth to the vacancy of the prebend sinecure as one year, the composer's entry in the service of Ercole can be dated from 1487-88. Let us remember that 1487-88 were the years of Obrecht's stay at Ferrara. Cornelius van Lillo was in 1487 at Bruges to invite Obrecht and perhaps he had to recruit, moreover, some young singers for the ducal chapel and among these young Flemish singers was Johannes Ghiselin-Verbonnet.

The next record about Verbonnet, a letter of Isabella d'Este, is dated July 17, 1491. The intelligent marchioness of Mantua, daughter of Ercole I and niece of Beatrice of Aragon, was a music student of the Flemish master Johannes Martini. She made the arts an "integral part of life rather than a superficial one" (Reese) [19]. Her court was known as the birthplace of the new art of the frottola. She promoted the revival of Vergil's poetry, and probably gave order for the composition of the principal corpus of the Vergil-motets, containing settings by Josquin, Ghiselin-Verbonnet, Mouton, Willaert and anonymous composers [20].

Isabella informs her correspondent in this letter [21], that she has sent Verbonnet, a singer of her father's "ad partes Galie" to recruit two young singers for her chapel. Einstein [22] mentioned that one of these two places

[18] Ercole I founded his chapel in 1472; cf. Della Corte, 56.

[19] G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* New York 1954, 157.

[20] H. Osthoff, "Vergil's Aeneis in der Musik von Josquin des Prez bis Orlando di Lasso", *AfMw* XI, 1954, 99.

[21] St. Davari, *La Musica in Mantova,* 1884, 14, and E. Van der Straeten, *op. cit.* VIII, 526.

[22] A. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal,* 1949, 43.

became vacant by the illegal leave of Carlo di Lannay. Verbonnet's mission seems to have been the same as Cornelius' van Lillo in 1487. Evidently Verbonnet was in a certain position of trust at the court of Ferrara; evidently, too, the composer was in the service of Ercole before 1491, for Isabella left Ferrara in 1490.

The only trace of Ghiselin-Verbonnet between 1491 and 1501 is the mention in Guillaume Crétin's famous *Déploration* on the death of Johannes Ockeghem (c. 1495) [23]:

> Agricola, Verbonnet, Prioris,
> Josquin des Prez, Gaspar, Brumel, Compère,
> Ne parlez plus de joyeulx chants, ne ris,
> Mais composez und ne recorderis,
> Pour lamenter nostre maistre et bon père.

To regard Verbonnet as Ockeghem's pupil is probably inopportune, because the reference to Ockeghem as "nostre maistre" is the only mention of the kind, and is in any event "editorial" in character.

On July 21st, 1501 the Ferrarese ambassador at the French court in Blois near Lyon, Bartolomeo di Cavaleri, announced to Ercole a new composition by Verbonnet, "singer of His Very Christian Majesty" [25]. The composition was a "responsorio ilquale dice se canta ildi del corpore de Christo avanti el magnificat", i.e., a(lost) motet on the words and probably on the plainsong tune "Cibavit illos" [24]. Although Ghiselin-Verbonnet was in the service of the French King, he kept his contact with the court of Ferrara, sending over some compositions from time to time.

Furthermore Ghiselin-Verbonnet "manda certa cosa nova che dice ha facto Joschin a Vostra Excellentia . . ." as one can read in the postscriptum of Cavaleri's letter from September 25, 1501 [25]. This is the first evidence of a close relation between the famous Josquin and Ghiselin. In December of the same year Josquin returned from Bruges at Blois after having recruited some young singers for the Ferrarese chapel [26]. At the same time Philippe le Beau arrived at Blois on his way to Spain for the first time. Alexander Agricola, on whose chanson "Je nay dueul" [27] Ghiselin based one of his masses, accompanied Philipp as "chantre de la chapelle domestique" [28]. On the day of St. Mary's Conception 1501 the Royal chapel sang a solemn mass in honor of Philippe and his wife. De Lalaing, chronicler of

[23] *Oeuvres poétiques de Guillaume Crétin* (ed. K. Chesney), 1933, 60ff.

[24] *Antiphonale monasticum pro diurnis horis,* 1934, 546.

[25] Modena, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci dalla Francia, Busta 3, cf. H. Osthoff, "Josquin Desprez", *MGG* VII, 194; pr. Gottwald, *op. cit.* chapter I.

[26] H. Osthoff, "Josquin Desprez" *loc. cit.*

[27] pr. Helen Hewitt (ed), *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A,* Cambridge (Mass), 1946, 302.

[28] Paul Müller, "Alexander Agricola", *MGG* I, 158.

this splendid event [29], mentioned Verjust as the King's most famous singer. Among the other members of the chapel were Ghiselin-Verbonnet and Antoine de Févin, whom Glarean called "felix Jodoci aemulator", i.e., the felicitous emulator of Josquin [30].

Philippe le Beau tried to enlist Josquin, who served the King of France and Ercole I simultanously, in his own chapel during the trip to Spain. But Ercole did not agree. On the contrary he was bent on Josquin's return to Ferrara. A certain Gian dealt with Josquin and Heinrich Isaac, and in a letter from September 2nd, 1502(?) [31] he proposed the engagement of Isaac, "because Isaac is able to get on with his companions, and he composes new works more quickly . . . and Josquin demands 200 fiorins, whereas Isaac will accept 120".

In April 12th, 1503 the agent of the margrave of Mantua, Giacomo d'Adria, reported from Lyon the arrival of "il Verbonetto e il Juschino" [32]. Josquin and Ghiselin-Verbonnet came from Paris and were accompanied by a certain Coglia (Van der Straeten reads "Coya"), guide of the Duke Ercole. The state coach was drawn by five marvellous horses. The Duke promised Josquin a house of his own, "la spese e benefici per buona somma". Josquin stayed the night at Lyon in the house of the Ferrarese ambassador, as Cavaleri reported to Hercules in his letter dated from April 13, 1503 [33]. Obviously both composers left the service at the French chapel and returned to the service of Ferrara. Ercole had decided for Josquin and against Isaac.

A list of the chapel members in Ferrara [34], dated October 17, 1503, shows "Messers Juschino francese maistro della capella" and "Messer Johane fiamengo", who is doubtless identical with Johannes Ghiselin. But Ercole planned the greatest display yet of his chapel. In 1504 the illustrious "zangmeester" Jacob Obrecht arrived at Ferrara. The register records that Obrecht was engaged as composer ("compositore di canto") and that he received periodical payments [35].

But the glory of the Ferrarese chapel did not last long. In the first days of 1505 died, 74 years old, the great Maecenas, Duke Ercole I. The splendid chapel disbanded. Josquin and Ghiselin turned north, and Jacob Obrecht died a few months after Ercole I of the plague at Ferrara [36].

[29] A. Chmell, *Handschriften der Wiener Hofbibliothek* II, Wien, 1948, 554ff.
[30] B. Kahmann, "Antoine Févin", *MGG* IV, 142.
[31] Facs. Osthoff "Josquin", *op cit.* pl. 10.
[32] E. Van der Straeten, *op. cit.* VIII, 527.
[33] Modena, Archivio di Stato, Dispacci dalla Francia, Busta 3.
[34] Communication from Prof. Dr. Osthoff.
[35] A. Piscaer, *op. cit.* 13; B. Murray, *op. cit.* 507.
[36] A. Piscaer, *op. cit.*, 13; B. Murray, *op. cit.*, 507, fn. 22.

The last trace found of Ghiselin-Verbonnet is at the little town Bergen op Zoom in the Low Countries. He served in the chapel, which was engaged by several fraternities. Jacob Obrecht had started here, in 1479, his career as "zangmeester" [37]. "Meester Janne Verbonet" appears in the records of Onze Lieve Vrouwe Gilde and of the Sacrament Gilde in 1507-1508. Piscaer [38] mentioned that the composer remained here one year at least. But the records between 1508 and 1511 are lost. After 1508 the composer can no longer be traced. That he was still alive in 1535, as Riemann thought, is erroneous [39]. Obviously Riemann's statement was based on a passage in the letter of Giovanni del Lago to Spataro, dated August 23rd, 1532 [40]. Del Lago, referring to the composer, says: "Ma Io trovò da Verbonet Compositore moderno . . ." In the second letter, dated May 6th, 1535, del Lago mentioned Verbonnet again [41]. Riemann takes "moderno" to mean "alive".

If one supposes that Ghiselin-Verbonnet was about thirty years old when he entered the Ferrarese chapel in c. 1488, he would have been about 80 years old in 1535. Such an old age was rare. Moreover between 1505, the year in which Petrucci's *Canti C* appeared, and 1535 he would have composed more than one mass and a few chansons. The small number of works to be dated after 1505 suggests that Ghiselin-Verbonnet died much earlier.

[37] A. Piscaer, *op. cit.*, 10.

[38] Communication from Miss A. Piscaer.

[39] H. Riemann, *op. cit.* 292.

[40] K. Jeppesen, "Eine musiktheoretische Korrespondenz des früheren Cinquecento", *AM* XIII, 1941, 12.

[41] K. Jeppesen, *op. cit.* 13.

ROBERT FAYRFAX

Motets and settings of the Magnificat

EDWARD B. WARREN

A. INTRODUCTION

Besides the Masses [1], Fayrfax's sacred music includes thirteen motets, a setting of the *Nunc Dimittis,* and two settings of the *Magnificat.* Of the motets, two, *Stabat mater* and *Quid cantemus innocentes,* which were originally in the Eton MS, have been lost. *Ave cujus conceptio* has also been lost from Eton but the Medius part survives in BM Harley 1709. The *Nunc Dimittis,* originally in King's College MS of 1529, likewise has been lost. Besides *Ave cujus conceptio,* four other motets survive in fragmentary form: *Gaude flore virginali* (named *Regali*), *Lauda vivi Alpha et O, O bone Jesu,* and *O Maria Deo grata* (named *Albanus*). These incomplete pieces will appear in the appendix to the third volume of the *Collected Works,* except *O bone Jesu,* which will be included in the second volume.

Only the first half of *Ave lumen gratiae* has survived in the Eton MS, and while it is incomplete, it forms an entity in itself and so is included with the complete pieces in Volume II of the *Collected Works.* The five motets that are actually complete are *Salve Regina, Aeternae laudis lilium, Ave Dei Patris filia, O lux beata Trinitas,* and *Maria plena virtute.* These six motets and the Medius of O bone Jesu, the two settings of the *Magnificat,* and the lute transcription of the complete Mass *Sponsus amat sponsam,* including an additional four-voice section discovered since the Masses appeared, make up the contents of the second volume of the *Collected Works* and form the basis for the present article.

B. CHRONOLOGY

Although only two of Fayrfax's sacred works can definitely be dated and two more tentatively so [2], the compositions can be arranged chrono-

[1] Published in Volume I of the *Collected Works* of Robert Fayrfax, edited by Edwin B. Warren, as No. 17 in the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* of the American Institute of Musicology. For discussions of the Masses, see Dom Anselm Hughes, "An Introduction to Fayrfax", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. VI, 1952, 83-104; Edwin B. Warren, "Life and Works of Robert Fayrfax", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. XI, 1957, 133-52; "The Masses of Robert Fayrfax", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. XII, 1958, 145-76.

[2] *Aeternae laudis lilium,* 1502; *Missa O quam glorifica,* 1504; *Missa Regali,* 1509; *Missa Sponsus amat sponsam,* 1510.

logically with some degree of certainty. The six works of Fayrfax originally contained in the Eton MS of about 1495-1500 are his earliest works. Of these, the Magnificat *Regali* is also in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. a 9, dated about 1490, and is, presumably, Fayrfax's first composition. The Magnificat has been lost from the Eton MS as have the motets mentioned above, leaving in the manuscript the incomplete *Ave lumen gratiae* and the complete *Salve Regina.*

If stylistic characteristics are any criterion, the Magnificat *O bone Jesu* belongs to the same period as the above works. If it can be assumed that Missa *O bone Jesu* is Fayrfax's first Mass, it must date from about 1500, and the motet *O bone Jesu* must have preceded it, since the Mass is based upon it. Also, the motet, *Ave Dei Patris filia* is related to the three *O bone Jesu* compositions in mode, clefs, and ranges and it might be supposed that it dates from the same period between 1500 and 1502, in which year he wrote his *Aeternae laudis lilium.*

It is known that Fayrfax was at St. Alban's from about 1498 until he died, and he was surely there soon after 1500. He probably composed his Missa *Albanus* and the motet *O Maria Deo grata* to which he gave the name *Albanus* at St. Alban's before composing his doctoral Mass, *O quam glorifica,* in 1504.

Lauda vivi is in BM Harley MS 1709, which dates from before 1509; so it can be assumed that it and the three other motets in the manuscript, *Ave cujus conceptio, Ave Dei Patris filia,* and *O bone Jesu,* were written before 1509, the year tentatively attached to his Missa *Regali. Gaude flore virginali* is also named *Regali* and no doubt belongs to the same period. Both the Mass *Regali* and the *Nunc Dimittis* are in the King's College MS of 1529, which suggests that they might have been composed within a few years of each other. This, of course, is mere conjecture, since the *Nunc Dimittis* has disappeared. *O lux beata Trinitas* shows evidence of being slightly later; so it might be placed in the period 1509-1510, the year tentatively assigned to the Mass, *Sponsus amat sponsam.* For reasons discussed later, *Sponsus amat sponsam* probably precedes *Tecum Principium,* which, with the final motet, *Maria plena virtute,* belongs to Fayrfax's last creative period, after 1510. So, the chronological order of all the sacred works can be tentatively set down as follows:

Before 1490	Magnificat Regali
1490-1500	Compositions in the Eton MS 178 (1495-1500)
	Magnificat Regali
	Ave cujus conceptio
	Quid cantemus innocentes
	Stabat mater
	Salve Regina
	Ave lumen gratiae

1500-1502	O bone Jesu, motet O bone Jesu, Mass O bone Jesu, Magnificat
	Ave Dei Patris filia
1502	Aeternae laudis lilium
1502-1504	Missa Albanus O Maria Deo grata (Albanus)
1504	Missa O quam glorifica
1504-1509	Lauda vivi Alpha et O Gaude flore virginali (Regali) Nunc Dimittis
1509	Missa Regali O lux beata Trinitas
1510	Missa Sponsus amat sponsam
After 1510	Maria plena virtute Missa Tecum Principium

C. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON MISSA *SPONSUS AMAT SPONSAM*

Before launching into a discussion of the motets and settings of the *Magnificat,* a few additional and corrective comments concerning the Mass *Sponsus amat sponsam* might be in order, for the transcription of the lute tablature in BM Add. 29246 has shed new light on the work. The lute part, based on the three lower voices, supplies music for the introductory rests in the bass in the Chelmsford manuscript, so now it is possible to ascertain more accurately than before the length of the movements: Gloria, 105 measures (48 in triple, 57 in duple) instead of 98 (36, 62); Credo, 123 (51, 72) instead of 111 (43, 68); Sanctus, 101 (28, 20 in Sanctus; 53 in Benedictus) instead of 120 (34, 20; 66); and Agnus Dei, 98 (43, 55) instead of 97 (53, 44).

These introductory measures clearly show that the Mass does make definite use of a motto, which refutes the earlier deduction based on the Chelmsford and Tenbury MSS [3]. The motto is three measures long in the tenor at the beginning of each movement, the same length as the motto of *Tecum Principium.*

The lute tablature also reveals additional *cantus firmus* treatment. Besides the presence of the *cantus firmus* in the four-voice section of the Gloria [4], the second half of the chant melody is found in the Tenor beginning with "Qui sedes", measure 72 to the end, corresponding to the

[3] *MD* XII, 155.
[4] *Ibid.*, 147.

concluding section of the Credo. Besides this and the complete use of the chant melody in the Credo [5], the opening of the chant is very strongly suggested in the beginning of the "Et incarnatus est" (measures 52-59). The lute tablature reveals three *cantus firmus* sections in the Sanctus: at the words "Dominus Deus" (10-20) the first part of the chant; at "Hosanna" (29-48), the second half; and in the Benedictus, at "Hosanna", the second half of the chant is repeated. There are two *cantus firmus* sections in the Agnus Dei: the first half of the chant at "miserere" (13-22) and the second half again at "miserere" (34-38).

The concluding four-voice section of the Agnus Dei in Tenbury 354-8 does not make use of either part of the chant melody. The first three notes of the chant, however, are used in imitation at "dona" (82-83) which gives a strong impression of the chant melody. This concluding section contains several subtle suggestions of imitation, but no actual examples of real imitation. None of the existing four-part sections reveals the imitative development of *Tecum Principium,* which, more than ever, appears to be Fayrfax's last Mass composition [6].

As far as cadence practice is concerned, the lute tablature shows *Sponsus amat* to be a late work. Of its eight sections (two per movement) [7], sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 8 end with strong authentic cadences; section 6 ends with a plagal cadence; section 7 ends with the cadence represented by the Roman Numerals III-I. Since the lute part does not include the Cantus, the nonharmonic tones in the cadences cannot be summarized conclusively, but they reveal the 4-3 suspension and the "substitute sixth" [8] in the cadence. The older Burgundian cadence still persists at intermediate cadences, as in the Credo, 27-28, 73-74. Other dissonances as used in the other Masses can be found to a lesser degree because of the incomplete state of the music. A beautiful example of the appoggiatura, which is used so freely and boldly in *Albanus* and *Tecum Principium,* can be seen in measure 85 of the Cantus in the concluding section of the Mass.

These additional observations concerning *Sponsus amat sponsam* reveal that it is approximately the same length as the other Masses, that it also makes definite use of both the *cantus firmus* and motto techniques, limited use of imitation but advanced use of dissonance and cadences, except for occasional Burgundian formulae. Except for the emphasis on dissonance and the authentic cadence, the evidence points to the conclusion that *Sponsus amat sponsam* is probably not Fayrfax's last Mass, probably preceding *Tecum Principium,* which, stylistically, is by far the most advanced

[5] *Loc. cit.*
[6] *Ibid.,* 157.
[7] *Ibid.,* 169.
[8] *Ibid.,* 174

of all the Masses. However, until still further evidence is found, this conclusion must remain tentative [9].

D. THE SETTINGS OF THE *MAGNIFICAT*

1. *Regali*

Fayrfax composed three works, a Mass, a Magnificat, and a motet, to which he gave the title *Regali.* The first of these is probably the Magnificat, contained in the Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. liturg. a 9, dated about 1490, five to ten years earlier than the Eton College MS 178, which also originally included it. The Magnificat *Regali* is, therefore, perhaps Fayrfax's first-known composition. Both it and the Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* composed perhaps some ten years later, follow the traditional alternate-verse setting of the text. The odd-numbered verses are sung by a soloist (Tone 6). In the Magnificat *Regali,* the second verse is set for all five voices; the fourth is set for Triplex, Tenor, and Bass; the sixth essentially for all five, but included is writing for Contratenor, Tenor, and Bass, and for Triplex and Medius; the first half of the eighth verse is set for the four lower voices, the second half for Triplex, Medius, and Bass; the twelfth is set for Triplex and Bass; Medius, Contratenor, and Tenor; Contratenor and Bass; the "saeculorum. Amen." for full choir. Thus, there is a greater variety of tonal color in the Magnificat setting than in the motets or Masses.

Since both Mass and Magnificat bear the same name, what relationship exists between them? The Mass is based on the melody of the antiphon *Regali ex progenie* [10]. The Magnificat does not make use of this or of any other *cantus firmus.* As Dom Anselm Hughes has pointed out [11], "the Magnificat displays a definite recurrence of an"ending" to the sixth Gregorian psalm-tone, which happens to be the same mode as that of the antiphon. But the antiphon belongs to the third psalm of Lauds or Vespers on the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady (8th September), and it would not have been used for the Magnificat . . ." The opening motive in the Medius in both works is essentially the same, and the Tenor does sing the first three notes of the chant melody in measures 9-10, which might suggest that Fayrfax was at least hinting at the *cantus firmus* in the Magnificat, but this relationship is so slight that it is negligible. Dom Anselm has also pointed out [12] that the title of the Magnificat is spelled *Regale, Regali,* or *Regaly* in the manuscripts, and in no case are the words "ex progenie" found.

[9] *Ibid.,* 146.
[10] *Ibid.,* 149-50.
[11] Hughes, *op. cit.,* 100.
[12] *Ibid.,* 101.

Both Mass and Magnificat are in the same mode. Both use the same clefs but one, and the corresponding voices in each composition cover approximately the same range:

Magnificat *Regali*			Missa *Regali*		
Voice	*Clef*	*Range*	*Voice*	*Clef*	*Range*
Triplex	Treble	d′-f²	Triplex	Treble	c′-f²
Medius	Alto	g-a′	Medius	Alto	f-a′
Contratenor	Tenor	B♭-e′	Contratenor	Tenor	c-f′
Tenor	Baritone	c-d′	Tenor	Tenor	c-d′
Bass	Bass	F-a	Bass	Bass	F-a

But here the similarities cease. Though the Magnificat is presumably Fayrfax's first work, stylistically it is more advanced than the Missa *Regali* which is presumably later. From the viewpoint of cadences, all three final cadences in the Magnificat are authentic, whereas in the Mass, only four of the eight are authentic; the Mass contains five Burgundian cadences, the Magnificat, one; and most of the other cadences in the Magnificat are stronger, more tonal than those in the Mass. There is a tremendous difference in the amount of imitation found in the two works. While there seems to be an almost conscious effort to avoid imitation in the Mass [13], nearly half of the Magnificat makes use of imitation, not only extensively in the three-part sections, but also in the five-voice sections, which is unusual. Imitation in Magnificat *Regali* is exceeded in amount only by the incomplete *Ave lumen gratiae,* also one of the earliest works, and by *Maria plena virtute* and *Missa Tecum Principium,* presumably Fayrfax's last two works.

Only from the viewpoint of dissonance is there general similarity of style between Mass and Magnificat. Both works make considerable use of accented passing tones, cambiatas, and escape-tones. However, again a difference: the appoggiatura which Fayrfax uses so boldly and expressively in the Masses *Albanus* and *Tecum Principium,* is used in the Magnificat *Regali,* but not at all in the *Missa Regali.* Hence, there is very little relationship between style and chronology: earliest works are more advanced stylistically than later ones.

Whereas it is possible that Fayrfax wrote his *Missa Regali* for the coronation of Henry VIII in 1509, as Denis Stevens conjectures [14], as regards the origin of the title *Regali* for both the Magnificat and the Mass, Dom Anselm Hughes' theory is perhaps more plausible: that both were

[13] *MD* XII, 156.

[14] Denis Stevens, "Prime Musitian of the Nation", *The Listener,* Vol. LVII, No. 1460, March 21, 1957, 493.

written for King's College, Cambridge, the Latin name of which is *Collegium Regale* [15]. In the manuscript is "An inventorye of the pryke songys longynge to the Kyngys College in Cambryge" (1529). Included is "Exultavit ffarfax. Quia viderunt (Nunc dimitis) of the same", and "in two different volumes "The masse Regale", presumably by Fayrfax", though the composer of the Mass is not named [16].

A third work bearing the title *Regali* is the motet *Gaude flore virginali,* of which only the bass part survives in Tenbury MS 1464. On folio 22 is inscribed "Gaude flore virginali or Regali by Doctor Fayrfax", and at the end, on folio 24, "Finis Regali by Doctor Fayrfax". Since only the Bass part has survived, only a limited comparison with the other two *Regali* compositions can be made.

All three works are in the Ionian mode on F; the clef for the Bass voice is Bass with B♭-flat signature; the range of the voice is exactly the same in each. However, there is no musical connection between the Bass of the Mass, Magnificat, or motet. The most plausible explanation for its name is that it, too, was written for King's College.

2. *O bone Jesu*

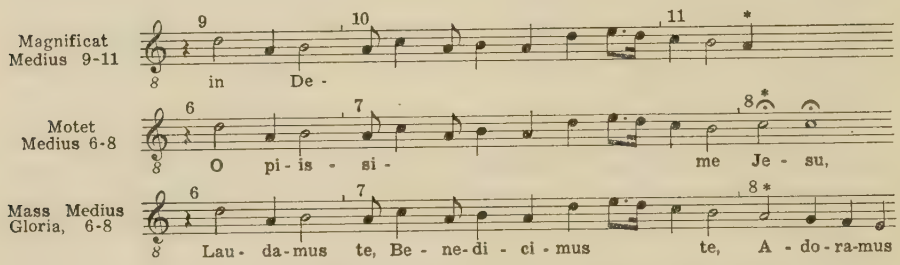
There are also three works, a motet, a Mass, and a setting of the Magnificat, to which Fayrfax gave the title *O bone Jesu.* All three works, no doubt, belong to the period following the Magnificat *Regali* and the other compositions in the Eton manuscript.

Dom Anselm Hughes has pointed out that the Mass *O bone Jesu* is based on the motet and is thus perhaps the first parody Mass in English music [17]. All that survives of the motet is the Medius part in BM Harley MS 1709, ff. 53-55. The motto plus 13 notes (first seven measures) that appear in the Medius at the beginning of each movement of the Mass are also found at the beginning of the Medius part of the motet, except in measure three, b -a, sixteenths in the Mass correspond to a, eighth note in the motet, and in measure four, a, half note in the motet is a quarter note, preceded by a quarter rest in the Mass. Moreover, measures 53-55 of the motet Medius resemble the Medius "Qui tollis" (41-43) and the "Et incarnatus" (43-45) in the Mass; and measure 24 of the motet Medius ("tuam") resembles the "magnam" (meas. 16) in the Gloria of the Mass. None of the rest of the motet Medius is found in the Mass. The clef and range of the Medius in both Mass and motet are the same, and here the resemblance ceases. However, the similarities of these motives and the use

[15] Hughes, *op. cit.,* 101.
[16] *Ibid.,* 94.
[17] *Ibid.,* 99.

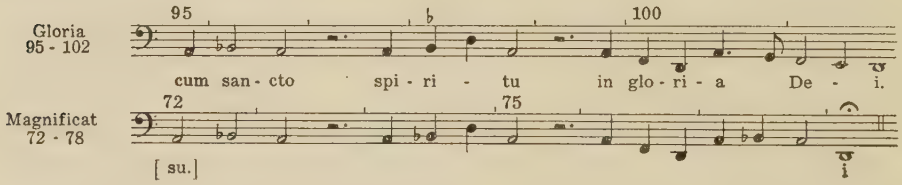
of the Mass motto in the motet are strong enough to establish a firm relationship between the motet and the Mass.

The Magnificat does not use the motto theme which is found in both the motet and the Mass. But it does use the two measures following the motto: measures 9-11 of the Magnificat Medius are identical with measures 6-8 of the motet Medius, which are also found in measures 6-8 of each movement of the Mass, also in the Medius:



* "c" in lute and motet, "a" in Magnificat and Mass

One other thematic relationship exists between the Mass and the Magnificat. The stirring, almost militant Bass theme that Fayrfax uses three times in the Mass (Gloria 95-102, Credo 115-22, Agnus Dei 101-08) he also gives to the Bass in the Magnificat, with slight change in measures 72-78.



Parts of this theme are found in four other places in the Magnificat: Contratenor, 85-87; Tenor, 103-05; and Bass, 96, 137-38. The strong use that Fayrfax makes of this theme in both the Mass and the Magnificat, together with the Medius theme in all three works, coupled with the fact that the Medius clef and range are the same in all three, is sufficient evidence that Fayrfax definitely considered the motet, Mass, and Magnificat to be related to each other.

Besides thematic relationship which binds the Mass and the Magnificat together, there is also the matter of similarity of mode, clefs, and ranges which indicates further relationship:

Magnificat *O bone Jesu* (Dorian on D)

Voice	*Clef*	*Range*
Triplex	Mezzo	g-c²
Medius	Tenor	e-f′
Contratenor	Baritone	A-c′
Tenor	Bass	G-b♭
Bass	F 5th line	D-f

Missa *O bone Jesu* (Dorian on D)

Voice	*Clef*	*Range*
Triplex	Mezzo	g-c²
Medius	Tenor	d-f′
Contratenor	Baritone	A-c′
Tenor	Bass	G-a
Bass	F 5th line	D-f

The range of the Medius in the motet is the same as for the Magnificat, small e to f-one. It is very likely that the missing voice parts of the motet also used the same clefs and covered similar ranges as in the Mass and Magnificat.

Like the Magnificat *Regali,* Magnificat *O bone Jesu* also follows the traditional alternate-verse setting of the text. The odd-numbered verses are again sung by a soloist (Tone 1); the second verse is set for all five voices; the fourth for Triplex, Contratenor, and Tenor; Medius, Tenor, and Bass; the sixth, essentially for all five, but with some three-part writing (Ct-T-B; Trp-M-T); the eighth for Triplex, Contratenor, and Bass; and Medius, Contratenor, and Bass; the tenth, for five voices; the twelfth for Contratenor, Tenor, and Bass, "Saeculorum, Amen" for full chorus of five voices. The similarities in text-setting can easily be seen below:

Verse	Magnificat *Regali*
2	5v
4	Trp, Ten, Bass
6	5; CT-T-B; Trp-Med.
8	M-CT-B; Trp-M-CT
10	CT-T-B
12	Trp-B; M-CT-T; CT-B
	Saeculorum. Amen. 5v

Verse	Magnificat *O bone Jesu*
2	5v
4	Trp-CT-T
6	5; CT-T-B; Trp-M-T
8	Trp-CT-B; M-CT-T
10	5v
12	CT-T-B
	Saeculorum. Amen. 5v

Magnificat *O bone Jesu* has no two- or four-part writing; more than half is for three voices. Magnificat *Regali,* on the other hand, does contain two- and four-part writing, though three- and five-part texture predominates. The chart below compares the distribution of voices in percentages in the two Magnificat settings and in the corresponding Masses.

Distribution of Voices (percentages)

Magnificat *O bone Jesu*

2v	3v	4v	5v
0	68.2	0	31.8

Missa *O bone Jesu*

2v	3v	4v	5v
13.7	40.6	11.6	34.1

Magnificat *Regali*

2v	3v	4v	5v
16.0	46	13.5	24.5

Missa *Regali*

2v	3v	4v	5v
9.8	45.1	11.7	33.4

Perhaps the most striking similarity between the two Magnificat settings is their exact uniformity of length. Both have 151 measures. Both traditionally start in perfect time, change to imperfect at the beginning of the sixth verse (*Fecit potentiam*) and return to perfect time at verse 10 (*Sicut locutus*) for the remainder of the composition.

Here the similarities end. Though the Magnificat *Regali* is thought to be Fayrfax's first work, stylistically it is later than the Magnificat *O bone Jesu*. Especially is this true in the distribution of voices, as seen above, and even more so in the amount of imitation found in each. Magnificat *O bone Jesu* contains less imitation than any of Fayrfax's works, and Magnificat *Regali* stands third from the highest in the use of imitation. Being in the Ionian mode, *Regali* reveals a more advanced concept of harmony and cadences in general than does *O bone Jesu*. However, *Regali* has one Burgundian cadence; *O bone Jesu* has none, and the final cadence of *O bone Jesu* is stronger than that of *Regali*. Moreover, the cadences in *O bone Jesu* are more often strengthened by suspensions than those in *Regali*. On the other hand, *O bone Jesu* has a final cadence (end of a section, measures 120-21) which is almost archaic in Fayrfax's later works: in which the second chord lacks the third and the lowest voice (Tenor) leaps an octave to the fifth of the chord, above the Contratenor which has the root.

From the viewpoint of dissonance, Magnificat *O bone Jesu* would seem to be later than Magnificat *Regali,* especially in the use of suspensions as mentioned above. The 7-6 suspension in the leading-tone cadence, and the 4-3, simple and ornamented, in the authentic, are found in profusion. The four-note cambiata, not found in the Masses, occurs in the Triplex, 91-92. This is still rare in Fayrfax. The three-note variety is common in all his music. Both Magnificats contain excellent examples of Fayrfax's bold use of the appoggiatura: *O bone Jesu,* 84, 126; Regali, 13, 22, to cite only four instances.

Regardless of the uncertainty regarding their chronology, both settings of the Magnificat contain some of Fayrfax's finest writing. Like the Masses, they show him to be in the main stream of musical tradition, and they are important contributions to the Magnificat literature of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

E. THE MOTETS

1. *Salve Regina* (à5)

Of the six works of Fayrfax that were originally in the Eton MS, his *Salve Regina* is the only one which has survived complete, and it is not to

be found in any other manuscript [18]. The *Salve Regina* is No. 26 in the manuscript, beginning on folio 56v.

In keeping will all other known pre-reformation polyphonic settings of the *Salve Regina,* and like the other thirteen settings in the Eton MS, Fayrfax uses a troped version of the *Antiphonale Monasticum* text [19]. The *Antiphonale* text is followed through the word "ostende", at which point the Eton settings trope the closing exclamations, with interpolated stanzas before "O clemens:" and before "O pia".

Mone [20] gives three different *Salve Regina* tropes, the second of which mixes the first two stanzas of Fayrfax's trope. The latter substitutes "crucifixo" for "Jhesu Christo" and transposes "et" before "pro nobis". The trope used by Fayrfax is the same in all but two of the Eton settings.

Mone, trope No. 2	Fayrfax trope
Virgo, mater ecclesiae, Aeterna porta gloriae, Exaudi preces omnium Ad te pie clamantium, O clemens!	Virgo, mater ecclesiae, Aeterna porta gloriae, Estos [21] nobis refugium Apud Patrem et Filium, O clemens!
Virgo clemens, virgo pia, Virgo dulcis, O Maria, Esto nobis refugium Apud patrem et filium, O pia!	Virgo clemens, virgo pia, Virgo dulcis, O Maria, Exaudi preces omnium Ad te pie clamantium, O pia!
5 Funde preces tuo nato Jhesu Christo, vulnerato, Pro nobis et flagellato, Spinis puncto, felle potato.	Funde preces tuo nato Crucifixo, vulnerato, Et pro nobis flagellato, Spinis puncto, felle potato.

After the trope, the *Antiphonale* "O dulcis Virgo Maria" becomes "O dulcis Maria, salve." in the Eton settings.

Fayrfax is no innovator in his setting of the *Salve Regina.* The tradition of setting the troped verses for two or three voices had long been established and Fayrfax follows custom by setting the first and third stanzas for three solo voices, the second for two, giving to the full five-part choir the exclamations "O clemens!", "O pia!" and the closing line "O dulcis Maria, salve".

[18] The *Salve Regina* in Lambeth 1, which Dom Anselm Hughes attributes to Fayrfax (*MD* VI, 95) is not by Fayrfax, and it is not in Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Mus. Sch. e 1-5; nor is the Medius part in Harley 1709.

[19] Tournai, 1934, p. 176.

[20] Franc. Jos. Mone, *Hymni Latini Medii Aevi,* 1854, Vol. II, pp. 213-14.

[21] "Esto" in *Analecta Hymnica* XXIII, 57.

The practice of changing from triple to duple time in the course of a movement had been established in the iso-rhythmic motet of the fourteenth century. Fayrfax consistently followed this practice in all of his Masses [22] and he continues the same procedure in all of the motets. In three of these, including the *Salve Regina,* he returns to triple time for the closing section. The division of the text at the beginning of the trope lends itself naturally to the change from triple to duple time. Fayrfax sets the first two stanzas of the trope in duple time and returns to triple for the third stanza and concluding section.

Except for the top voice, all the others are named in Eton: Medius, Tenor, Contratenor, and Bassus [23]. Harrison writes [24] "As is usual in the five-part compositions in the Eton collection, the clef of the Medius part is a fifth above that of the Tenor, that of the Superius is an octave above, and that of the Bass, a fifth below. The range of the parts obviously implies transposition". These clefs are the same as in *Maria plena virtute* and the Masses, *O quam glorifica* and *Tecum Principium,* and the ranges are approximately the same. This set of clefs does not fit either the low or high "chiavette", the only ones which implied transposition. The case for transposing has not been clearly made [25], and since the ranges in these four works are very comfortable, there is no need to transpose them either up or down.

Though probably following the Magnificat *Regali* in date of composition, stylistic features would assign it to an earlier period. The *Salve Regina* contains the only examples in all the motets of parallel octaves and fifths. The dissonance, on the whole, is fairly harsh, reflecting an earlier attitude towards dissonance. The cadences, also, for the most part, are conservative, with several Burgundian and leading-tone formulae, ending with a modal Dorian plagal cadence. However, it approximates the Magnificat *Regali* in the amount of imitation, which is its most "progressive" characteristic.

2. *Ave lumen gratiae* (à4)

Ave lumen gratiae is on folio 103 of Eton 178 and is incomplete because T6 and T7 are missing from the manuscript. The motet does not occur in any other manuscript. Some 250 years later, Henry Needler (died

[22] *MD* XII, 159.

[23] Wylkinson's nine-part setting of the *Salve Regina* is an exception. Here the top voice is called Quatruplex. In the Peterhouse Part-Books, the term for the highest voice is "Triplex", which designation is being used in volumes I and II of the *Collected Works.*

[24] F. L. Harrison, "An English Caput", *Music and Letters,* XXXIII, No. 3, July 1952, p. 210.

[25] *MD* XII, 162-64.

1760) transcribed the existing portion of the motet from the Eton manuscript. His transcription, in BM Add. 5054, folios 93-96, is, curiously, in duple time. The original in Eton is in triple time. Needler copied the symbol for perfect time at the beginning of each voice part but apparently did not understand its meaning. Or, was he, like some of his eighteenth-century contemporaries, attempting to "improve on the ancients"?

The text consists of fourteen stanzas of six lines each, with the rhyming scheme aab aab, the "a" lines having seven syllables, the "b" lines six. The text of the existing portion of the motet goes through the fourth stanza of the hymn, as given in *Analecta Hymnica* [26].

Ave lumen gratiae is one of two works that Fayrfax wrote for four voices, the other being *O lux beata Trinitas*. All the other motets and the two settings are for five voices. Whereas Eton names all the voices but the highest for *Salve Regina,* it does not identify any of the voices in *Ave lumen gratiae.*

Though incomplete, the existing portion of *Ave lumen gratiae* is a complete entity and presents a good example of Fayrfax's early style. The motet contains Fayrfax's most extensive writing for two voices except in the secular music. The first stanza is written for Altus and Tenor, the second for Contratenor and Bass, the remainder for four voices. Thus, nearly half of the entire existing portion is for two voices, the most extensive example in the sacred music.

Though belonging to the same period as *Salve Regina, Ave lumen gratiae* marks a great advance over the former, especially in the use of dissonance, which, in the latter, occurs less frequently and is far better regulated and controlled. The voice parts are much smoother, with fewer large skips; the cadences are stronger, all but three plagal, and most cadences make use of suspensions. But the most striking advance that *Ave lumen gratiae* makes over *Salve Regina* is in its use of imitation. Though one of Fayrfax's earliest works and only half complete, it contains more imitation than any other of the motets or Magnificat settings.

It is difficult to understand why Fayrfax, who, apparently, appreciated the value of imitation early in his career, did not continue to use imitation more consistently in his later works. Had be built on the promise of *Ave lumen gratiae,* he might have approximated the imitative style of his great Flemish contemporaries. Or did he consider the expediency of imitation merely an academic technique, one not to be overdone? This is one of the enigmas of his style which defies explanation.

[26] G. M. Dreves and Cl. Blume, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi,* Leipzig, 1886-1911, XXXII, 27. See also U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum,* I, 1892, p. 110.

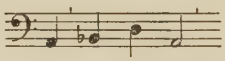
3. *Ave Dei Patris filia* (à5)

Of all Fayrfax's sacred works, his motet, *Ave Dei Patris filia,* was the best known and the most widely disseminated, being found in no less than ten manuscripts of the sixteenth century, ranging from Harley 1709, dated before 1509, to Tenbury 1469-71 of about 1600. The motet is also found in the eighteenth-century transcription of Henry Needler, who also transcribed *Ave lumen gratiae* from the Eton manuscript. Thus, the motet was contained in more manuscripts [27] than was any other work of Fayrfax.

Ave Dei Patris filia was not only the most popular work of Fayrfax, but was also one of the most popular texts set by sixteenth-century composers, Taverner, Tallis, Marbecke, to name only three later English composers who made settings of the text. The text is unusual in that each line of the eight four-line stanzas ends with the syllable "a": stanzas one through three, "ma"; stanza four, "ia", "ma", "la", "ma"; 5, "sa"; 6, "na", "ra", "ta", "ta"; 7, "cta", "ra", "ra", "ta"; 8, "cta", "ia", "ia", "ia".

As with the other works, there is great diversity in the texture: stanza one is set for the three upper voices; two for the three lower voices; three and four for all five voices; six for Medius, Tenor, and Bass; six for Triplex and Contratenor; seven and eight for all five voices. As in the other works, the Contratenor is the favored voice, singing in all but the fifth stanza.

Ave Dei Patris filia shows a close affinity for the *O bone Jesu* Mass and Magnificat and probably was written in the same general period. All three works are in the Dorian mode, use the same clefs and cover approximately the same vocal ranges. Moreover, all three make certain use of the same melodic motive:



Fayrfax must have had the same group of singers in mind for all three works. In all three the Bass, especially, has a low tessitura, most of it lying between D below the staff and A in the first space. Cadences, which, on the whole, are not strongly tonal, the small amount of imitation, and frequent harsh dissonances, would all substantiate the theory that *Ave Dei Patris filia,* though Fayrfax's best known work, was also one of his earliest compositions.

[27] The motet is complete in the Scone Antiphonary or Carver MS (Edinburgh, National Library, 5. 1. 15) and in Oxford, Bodl. Mus. Sch. e 1-5; it is incomplete in Oxford Christ Church 979-983 and in Cambridge, Peterhouse; single voice parts and fragments are in Camb. Dd xiii; Tenbury 1469-71; Tenbury 1464; Harley 1709; Chelmsford Petre Ms. 1; BM, RM 24 d 2; it is also complete in Henry Needler's transcription in BM Add. 5059; another 18th-century fragment-transcription is in Vienna, Musikfreunde, in score form, duple time, meas. 14-26 tranposed up a fourth.

4. *Aeternae laudis lilium* (à5)

Except for the doctoral Mass, *O quam glorifica,* 1504, *Aeternae laudis lilium* is the only work of Fayrfax that can be dated with any degree of certainty. In 1502, four years after Fayrfax had become *informator chori* at St. Alban's, Queen Elizabeth made a visit to the Abbey. In honor of the occasion, Fayrfax composed this five-part motet, "based on a rhyming geneology of Christ with introductory verses in honour of the Virgin" [28]. The text consists of six stanzas, each of four fourteen-syllable lines, ending with the same syllable (a a a a). Fayrfax sets the first two stanzas for three voices: Triplex, Medius, Contratenor; Contratenor, Tenor, Bass; the third stanza for five voices. The fourth stanza is for Tenor and Bass, but when Elizabeth's name appears, "a qua patre Elizabeth matre Sophonia", all five voices enter to sing her name to the same melodic motive. The Bass sings her name three times, the Contratenor twice, Medius and Triplex each once, a total of eight times, "a rather obvious but nevertheless charming compliment to the royal visitor" [29]. This is one of the only two examples of text repetition in all the music by Fayrfax, the other being in *Maria plena virtute.*

Dating from the period of the Missa *Albanus, Aeternae laudis lilium* reveals several points in common with the Mass. Both are in the Ionian mode (one flat on F); both use the same high clefs and cover approximately the same vocal ranges, indicating that both were probably written for the same group of singers at St. Alban's: the Triplex of both works ends on A above the staff. Both reveal about the same amount of imitation (approximately one-third); both emphasize the authentic cadence and reveal an advanced concept of tonality, limited but refined use of dissonance.

The motet is complete in two splendid manuscripts of the period: Lambeth 1 of about 1510, and Edinburgh, Natl. Lib. 5.1.15, the famous "Carver Ms" or "Scone Antiphonary" of about 1546 [30]. The arrangement of voice parts in the two choir books differs as follows:

Lambeth		*Scone*	
Triplex	Medius	Triplex	Contratenor
Contratenor	Tenor	Medius	Tenor
Medius	Bass	Contratenor	Bass

[28] Stevens, *op. cit.* 493.

[29] *Loc. cit.*

[30] Hughes, *op. cit.,* 91, 95. In addition, all parts but the Tenor are in Peterhouse 40, 41, 31, 32; the Contratenor is in Cambridge Univ. Lib. Dd XIII; the Bass is in

5. *O Maria Deo grata*

The motet *O Maria Deo grata* survives only in fragmentary form, and therefore it will not be included in the second volume of the *Collected Works*. However, it will appear in the third volume, and since it is related to *Missa Albanus,* a few comments concerning this relationship might be in order here.

On folio 17b of Tenbury 1464, at the beginning of the Bass part is the title, "O Maria Deo grata or Albanus by Doctor Ffayrefax", and at the end of the part on folio 20 is inscribed, "Finis O Maria Deo grata or Albanus by Doctor Ffayrefax". Little can be added to what Dom Anselm Hughes has already pointed out concerning the occurence of the Albanus theme towards the end of the Bass part of the motet [31]. Though there may not be any other use of borrowed material between Mass and motet, this one clear statement of the Albanus motive in the motet would indicate that Fayrfax did think of them as more or less belonging together; hence, the reason for their being placed together in the chronology of the works.

In the existing manuscripts [32] of *O Maria Deo grata,* both the motet and the Mass use the same clefs and the Bass covers exactly the same range. Both use as clef, C on the fifth line; the Mass places ♭-flat in the fourth space as signature; the motet places ♭-flat in the fourth space and also on the first line. The range of the Bass would indicate that Fayrfax might have written the motet for the same choir for which he composed his *Missa Albanus* and the motet *Aeternae laudis lilium.* These perhaps superficial details, plus the fact that all three works are in the Ionian mode, would strengthen the relationship between the three works. Until the rest of the motet is discovered, further comparisons cannot be made, and it can be assumed that Fayrfax composed both motets, *O Maria Deo grata* and *Aeternae laudis lilium,* and his *Missa Albanus* for St. Alban's Abbey.

6. *O lux beata Trinitas* (à 4)

THE THRID KYND OF FABURDUN introduces Fayrfax's *O lux beata Trinitas* in BM Add. MS 4911, a treatise entitled *The Art of Music Collecit out of all Ancient Doctoris of Music,* written by a Scotsman about 1540 [33]. This is the only manuscript containing the motet, a short four-voice composition, which Fayrfax wrote to illustrate two types of fauxbourdon. The composition is without text, except for the opening line of the

Cambridge, St. John College 234, and in Tenbury, St. Michael's College, 1464. The motet was also originally in Oxford, Merton College along with two other works of Fayrfax, but they have been lost. For descriptions of these MSS, see Hughes, *op. cit.,* 91, 92, 93,

[31] Hughes, *op. cit.,* 99-100.

[32] Peterhouse; BM Add. 34191; Tenbury 1464.

hymn, which is long enough for the first example and which is used at the beginning of the second, longer example. Therefore, Fayrfax may have intended both as instrumental pieces or merely as examples of fauxbourdon. In the transcription included in Volume II of the *Collected Works,* the first example is made to serve as an introduction to the second [34].

In BM Add. 4911, each example is introduced by an explanation:

BM Add. 4911

The thrid kynd of faburdon In Quhaw ye plane sang is modulat in saxths above ye plane [the last word crossed out] propri-point. The Baritonant is modulat in thirds beneth the propri-point. And the Counter in ferdths beneth ye plane sang.

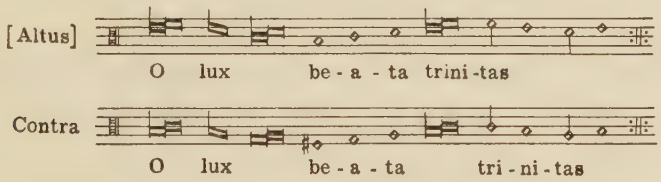
Of the quhilk kynd we find twa rewillis. The first rewill is that ye haill sang beand transport beneth the propri-point. It is all modulat in just faburdoun conform to ye first kynd except ye sang is put in one othe key in this wayis [35].

Modern version

The third kind of fauxbourdon in which the plain song is sung in sixths above the proper place [Tenor]. The Bass (Baritonant) is sung in thirds beneath the Tenor, and the Contratenor in fourths below the plainsong.

Of which kind we find two rules. The first rule is that the entire song should be transposed beneath the Tenor. It is all sung in correct fauxbourdon [to] conform to the first kind except the song is put in another key in this way [35].

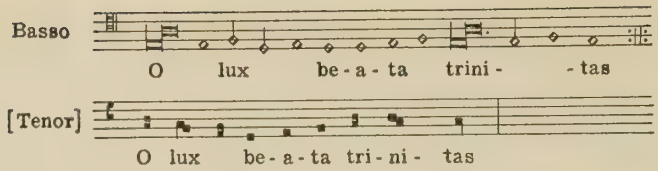
The first example is actually a four-part adaptation of the fifteenth-century "theory of the sights" which produced the English style of fauxbourdon. To sing in "just faburdoun" conforming "to the first kind" means that the Contratenor thinks his notes a fourth below the Tenor but sings them a sixth higher. The plainsong is in the Tenor; the top voice sings a sixth above the Tenor; the Contratenor is a fourth below but transposed up a sixth; the Bass is a third below the Tenor. The music of the first example is quoted below:



[33] Hughes, *op. cit.,* 94.

[34] The present writer has made a performing edition of the motet with Latin and English texts, published by Summy-Birchard Co.

[35] The writer wishes to acknowledge with appreciation the help of Mr. Perry Proctor, Mr. Charles Parish, and Mr. Robert Duncan in deciphering and translating the text of the MS, some of which is enigmatic and blurred.



A line across the manuscript separates the above music from the following continuation of the text and the second example, which names the three lower voices.

BM Add. 4911

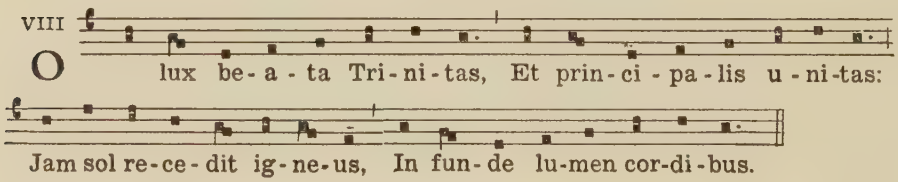
The secund rewill is that ye tenor is put down to be modulat in thridis beneth ye propri-point of the plane sang. And thrie artificiall parts thairto annexit. Quhilk is fro ye ryt way of faburdons exstendit. The exempill follows in yis wayis quhilk is be doctor fairfax compylit and is haldin autentic.

Modern version

The second rule is that the tenor is put down to be sung in thirds below the proper place of the plain song, and three composed parts added to it, which is extended from the right way of singing fauxbourdon. The example follows in this way, which was composed (compiled) by Doctor Fayrfax and is held to be authentic.

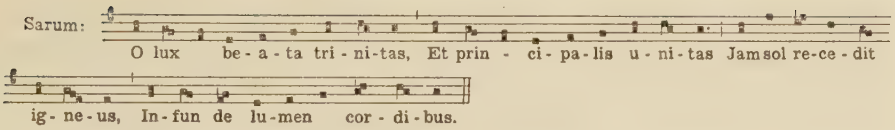
The second rule refers to the later or sixteenth-century type of fauxbourdon, in which the notes in the Tenor are a third below those of the plainsong *cantus firmus*. Two voices above and one below (the three artificial parts) are then added to the Tenor. The Tenor follows the plainsong a third lower; in actual practice, however, the Tenor skips back and forth, most often a third above or below the plainsong, and frequently having the notes of the plainsong itself.

In the first example, Fayrfax's Tenor follows note for note the Sarum hymn, which differs slightly from the hymn in the *Antiphonale Monasticum* for Saturday Vespers (p. 163), also assigned to First Vespers of Trinity Sunday (p. 533). The Antiphonale hymn is quoted below with the Sarum version, of which Fayrfax's tenor is a fauxbourdon.



Tonus in Aestate
Antiphonals Monasticum, 163

[36] *The Mulliner's Book* (Musica Britannica, Vol. I, p. 23); also *The History of Music in Sound,* Oxford Univ. Press, Vol. III, 1953, pp. 73-74.



Later in the century, John Redford also made a fauxbourdon setting of *O lux beata Trinitas* [36]. In Redford's setting, which is definitely instrumental, the Bass notes are a third *higher* than the corresponding notes of the hymn, except a few which are the same. If Redford applied the second rule as given in BM Add. 4911, the Bass *thought* down a third but transposed up a fifth.

O lux beata Trinitas is the only work of Fayrfax in the Phrygian mode. The resulting conservative harmonic style and general avoidance of authentic cadences, the opening fifteenth-century-sounding fauxbourdon, the emphasis on the top voice in the second example, less imitation than in *any* of the works, all tend to give the composition characteristics of an early period. Yet the handling of dissonance is as masterly as any found in his later works. It is this contradiction in style that characterizes much of Fayrfax's music and which gives it much of its charm and interest. It also shows him to be a transitional figure in music history. In none of his works is this transition better seen than in *O lux beata Trinitas.*

7. *Maria plena virtute* ((à 5)

Fayrfax's last motet, *Maria plena virtute,* survives complete in only one manuscript, Bodleian, Mus. Sch. e 1-5 [37]. Whereas the motet cannot be actually dated, stylistic features place it in his latest period along with Missa *Tecum Principium*. The text of the motet shows the second brief example of text repetition (m. 56) in Fayrfax's music and reveals the influence of the sequence. Thirteen of its sixteen four-line stanzas have the rhyming scheme, a a a b; the remaining three rhyme a b b a, a a b b, and a b a c.

The motet is the only work of Fayrfax which makes real use of mixed signatures. The Bodleian Manuscript e 376-80 of Missa *O bone Jesu* has a b-flat only in the signature of the Tenor part, but the flat does not function as a signature [38]. The Bodleian Manuscript of *Maria plena virtute,* however, does present a real example of partial or conflicting signatures. The mode is on G; Triplex, Medius, and Tenor each has b-flat in the signature; Contratenor and Bass each has b-flat and e-flat. Hence, three voices are in the Dorian mode, two in the Aeolian; the result is a mixed Dorian-Aeolian mode. In the voices with b-flat only, the e-flat is carefully indicated

[37] The motet is incomplete in Peterhouse, Tenbury 1464, and BM RM 24 d 2.
[38] See *CMM* 17, Critical Notes, ii.

whenever the e descends to d. Whenever e-flat is intended but not specifically indicated, its inflection is always apparent because of a preceding flat or because of its use in another voice, frequently in imitative motives.

Maria plena virtute is also the only work of Fayrfax which makes use of the written a-flat. All of the other works use f-sharp, c-sharp, b-flat, and e-flat only. *Maria plena virtute* uses all of these accidentals plus fifteen written a-flats. It is interesting to note that the a-flat never occurs in the two top voices: ten occurences are in the Bass, four in the Tenor, and one in the Contratenor. One of the Tenor examples (measure 144) involves a written cross-relation with a-natural in the Contratenor. In most cases, a-flat moves to g; however, in the three-voice section, measures 108 to 118, a-flats occur simultaneously in Bass and Tenor, moving to b-flat or e-flat, creating a strong feeling for the Ionian mode on e-flat. The section ends with a forceful plagal cadence in e-flat. Here, Fayrfax is far ahead of his time.

The cadences in general, in *Maria plena virtute* are strong, with emphasis on authentic, leading-tone, and plagal, with the usual suspensions. Gone are the conservative deceptive and the archaic Burgundian cadences. The harmony in general shows Fayrfax on the very threshold of tonality. In no other work is dissonance used more expressively or skillfully; and in no other work except *Tecum Principium* and the incomplete *Ave lumen gratiae* is imitation used so extensively. Half of the music is imitative and there are many instances of long, sweeping motives in three- and five-part imitations at the octave, fourth, and fifth. As in *Tecum Principium,* Fayrfax approaches the Flemish ideal of imitation in *Maria plena virtute,* in consistent usage, in the close overlapping of both long and short motives, and in the employment of imitation at the beginning of sections. The motives take on added length and more definite contour than in the previous works. All of these stylistic features would make plausible the assumption that *Maria plena virtute* belongs with *Tecum Principium* in his last creative period. These are his finest works.

F. GENERAL FEATURES

1. *The Individual Voice Line*

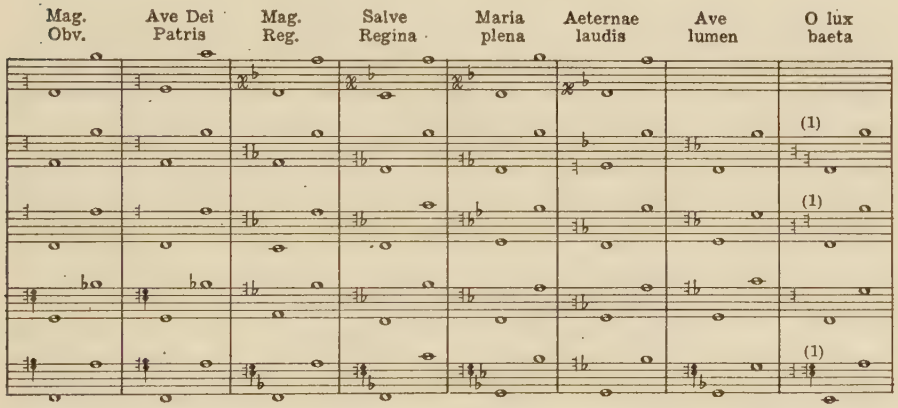
a. Clefs and Ranges

As in the Masses, no voice exceeds the range of an eleventh except the Contratenor and the Bass in *Salve Regina,* in which they have the range of a twelfth. Just as the Masses group themselves into three categories as regards range, so do the other sacred works. Like the Mass, *O bone Jesu,*

the Magnificat *O bone Jesu* lies in the same low register, as do the motet Medius and the motets, *Ave Dei Patris filia, Ave lumen gratiae,* and *O lux beata Trinitas.* Likewise, *Aeternae laudis lilium* lies in approximately the same high register as the *Albanus* Mass, the clefs being identical [39]. The other works lie in a central range.

Low Ranges	*Standard Ranges*	*High Ranges*
Missa O bone Jesu	Missa O quam glorifica	Missa Albanus
Magnificat O bone Jesu	Missa Regali	Aeternae laudis lilium
Motet O bone Jesu	Missa Sponsus amat	
Ave Dei Patris filia	Missa Tecum Principium	
O lux beata Trinitas	Magnificat Regali	
	Salve Regina	
	Maria plena virtute	

The following chart gives the clefs and ranges of all the voice parts in the motets and Magnificat settings.



(1) Clef changes for 2nd "example." Range given on 2nd clef.

b. Rhythm

In the Masses, the Tenor is the least active of the voices because it frequently has the *cantus firmus* in long note values. Because the motets and Magnificat settings are not *cantus firmus* compositions except *O lux beata Trinitas,* the Tenor in these works is as active as the other voices. In the Masses, the Tenor and often the other inside voices are disconcertingly unvocal or instrumental, with their oft-repeated tones and sudden, unexpected leaps or rests. Such lines are largely missing in the shorter works,

[39] The Triplex of *Missa Albanus* uses the G clef on the first line, not on the second line, as given in *MD* XII, 162.

which because they are more concise, are more restrained and coherent rhythmically. None of these works uses a mixture of perfect and imperfect time, or displays the polyrhythmic complexity of the doctoral Mass, *O quam glorifica*. However, the otherwise rhythmic variety of the Masses is still found in the motets and Magnificats, in which syncopation remains the most important rhythmic feature.

c. Melody

As in the Masses, virtually all types of melodies are to be found, and, for the most part, because of the greater conciseness of the works, the phrases and melodic lines are better defined and more closely knit than those in the Masses. Large skips occur only rarely: ascending eleventh separated by a rest (*Maria plena,* CT 175); ascending ninth, also separated by a rest (*Aeternae laudis,* CT, 32); ascending major seventh (*Salve Regina,* Bass, 65); ascending minor seventh, separated by a rest (*Ave Dei Patris,* Tenor, 48); descending major sixth (*Maria plena,* CT, 175). *Maria plena virtute* contains the only example of a chromatic interval, f-sharp to f-natural, separated by a quarter rest (measure 19). The natural is not actually written but is followed by a written b-flat. The quarter rest between the two notes weakens the chromatic character of the interval, but the chromatic effect is present, nonetheless.

Because the motets and Magnificat settings are more concise than the Masses, there is much less melismatic writing, fewer long stretches of melody, broken frequently by rests, sung on the vowel sounds of single syllables. The only notable exception is in the final "Amen".

In the motets and Magnificat settings there is a greater awareness of the text than there is in the Masses. For the most part, the word accents are carefully observed, and there is a definite attempt, frequently, not only to respect word accents in the music but also to express the emotional meanings of words. Though in much of the music, the text is, as in the Masses, merely a vehicle for the individual voice parts, Fayrfax does seem more concerned with the expressive interpretation of the text in these works than he is in the Masses. Especially in *Maria plena virtute* Fayrfax approximates the humanistic traits of his famous contemporary, Josquin.

2. *Uniformity of length*

Except for the incomplete *Ave lumen gratiae* and *O lux beata Trinitas,* which are for four voices, the remaining motets and the two settings of the *Magnificat* are for five voices. Like the Masses, they show remarkable uniformity of length. The older isorhythmic principle of triple and duple time continues in these works as it does in the Masses.

	Mag. R.	*Mag. Obj*	*Sa.l Rrg.*	*Aet. lau.*	*Ave Dei*	*Mar. plen.*	*Ave lum.*	*O lux*
O:	1-35	1-40	1-40	1-52	1-55	1-64	1-41	1-33
C:	36-106	41-121	41-131	53-160	56-167	65-202		
O:	107-151	122-151	132-158					

The second half of *Ave lumen gratiae,* which is missing, undoubtedly was in duple time and approximately the same length as the duple sections in the other motets. Since *O lux beata Trinitas* has only 33 measures, it is quite possible that Fayrfax did not consider it to be a complete work; but it is also possible that it, too, originally had a second part. In the other six works, remarkable uniformity of length can be seen, *Maria plena virtute* being the only one that is considerably longer than the other three, two of which are only two measures apart. And the two Magnificat settings are exactly the same as if measured by a slide rule.

3. *Texture and Imitation*

In all the works, the texture is constantly varied by the use of various combinations of two, three, and four voices as well as all five. The following chart shows, in percentages, the distribution of the voices in the five complete Masses, the motets, and the Magnificat settings. Three-part writing predominates in all the works; there is comparatively little two-part writing, and four-part texture is almost non-existent in the five-voice compositions, *Maria plena virtute* being the only notable exception.

Distribution of voices in percentages

	2-voice	3-voice	4-voice	5-voice
MASSES				
O bone Jesu	13.7	40.6	11.6	34.1
Albanus	4.5	61.7	2.1	31.7
O quam glorifica	9.0	39.0	0.0	52.0
Regali	9.8	45.1	11.7	33.4
Tecum Principium	6.1	50.9	6.0	37.0
MAGNIFICATS				
Regali	16.0	46.0	13.5	24.5
O bone Jesu	0.0	68.2	0.0	31.8
MOTETS				
Salve Regina	24.7	46.8	0.0	28.5
Aeternae laudis	19.3	34.4	0.0	46.3
Ave Dei Patris	21.5	39.5	0.0	39.0
Maria plena	22.0	22.0	9.5	46.5
		4-voice motets		
Ave lumen	46.0	0.0	54.0	
O lux beata	0.0	0.0	100.0	

In none of the motets or Magnificat settings does Fayrfax reveal the Gothic concept of texture found in his one Mass, *O quam glorifica.* Apparently, he considered the device of proportion an academic matter, one to fulfill the requirements of a university degree. The polyrhythmic structure of *O quam glorifica* is completely lacking in these works, which are also almost entirely lacking in straightforward harmonic style. *Ave lumen gratiae, Aeternae laudis,* and Magnificat *Regali* have not even one measure that could be considered in "familiar" style; *Salve Regina* and Magnificat *O bone Jesu* have only two measures; *O lux beata,* the opening faux-bourdon, and *Ave Dei Patris* and *Maria plena,* five measures each in familiar style. Most of the texture may be described as being an intermediate one between the note-against-note style and that in which the voices are rhythmically free and independent, but non-imitative.

From the viewpoint of imitation, there seems to be no significant relationship between the amount of imitation and the order in which it is believed the works were written: the supposedly later works do not contain more imitation, but frequently less than some that are known to be earlier. For example, *Ave lumen gratiae,* which stands highest in the use of imitation belongs to his earliest period; *Salve Regina,* also one of the earliest pieces, is fifth in use of imitation; and Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* which contains the least amount of imitation, is probably fourth in order of composition. Whereas *Ave lumen gratiae* has a larger percentage of imitation than *Maria plena virtute,* the latter comes the closest to the imitative style of *Tecum Principium.* The comparative lack of relationship between chronology and amount of imitation in all the works can be seen below:

Chronological order		Amount of imitation	Chronological order		Amount of imitation
3	Oqg	1	4	Mag. Obj	1
4	Reg.	2	5	Ave Dei	2
1	Obj	3	7	O lux	3
2	Alb.	4	6	Aet. laud.	4
5	Spon.	5	2	Sal. Reg.	5
6	Tec.	6	1	Mag. Reg.	6
			8	Mar. plena	7
			3	Ave lumen	8

Most of the texture is, therefore, made up of related but independent voice parts, highly contrapuntal but non-imitative. The three types of texture in the motets and Magnificat settings are summarized below:

Percentage of familiar, imitative, non-imitative writing

Work	*Familiar*	*Imitative*	*Non-imitative*
Magnificat O bone Jesu	2 meas. only	23	77
Ave Dei Patris filia	5 meas. only	27	73
O lux beata Trinitas	12	33	55
Aeternae laudis	0	36	64
Salve Regina	2 meas. only	45	55
Mag. Regali	0	46	54
Maria plena	5 meas. only	49	51
Ave lumen gratiae	0	58	42

4. *Harmonic Style*

As in the Masses, consonant harmony is predominant in the motets and Magnificat settings, nearly three-fourths of the beats containing complete triads, all three members being actually present, not merely implied. These triads are practically entirely major and minor in root position and first inversion. There are no augmented triads and the diminished occurs only rarely, always in first inversion, except in four instances: root position, (*Ave lumen gratiae,* 35; *Maria plena virtute,* 164) and two six-four positions, both in *Salve Regina,* 14, 69.

Of all the works, those in the Ionian mode, *Tecum Principium,* which is in the Aeolian, and *Maria plena virtute,* in the mixed Dorian-Aeolian mode, reveal the most advanced harmonic style and approach to the concept of tonality based on root movements of chords by fourths or fifths, especially at cadence points. Works in the Dorian and Phrygian modes exhibit a more conservative harmonic concept.

Fayrfax favored the Dorian and Ionian modes, using them in all but four of his sacred works, which are listed below according to mode.

	Ionian	*Dorian*	*Aeolian*	*Dor.-Aeo.**	*Phrygian*
MASSES	Albanus Regali Sponsus amat	O bone Jesu	O quam glorifica Tec. Prin.		
MAGNIFICATS	Regali	O bone Jesu			
MOTETS	Aeternae laudis	Sal. Reg. Ave lum. Ave Dei		Maria plena*	O lux beata

* Mixed signatures: Triplex, Medius, Tenor: b-flat; Contratenor and Bass, b-flat and e-flat; final G

The examples of root movements by seconds and the harmonic progression from a major or minor triad in first inversion to a root position

chord of the opposite color a third higher, the Bass remaining stationary, are also found in the motets and Magnificats but to a lesser degree than in the Masses [40].

Whereas all of the Masses contain one or more examples of parallel fifths or octaves [41], *Salve Regina* is the only one of the other sacred works to contain any[42]. The parallel interval is never conspicuous and in only one instance is it between outside voices [43].

The part-writing is also characterized by the typically English use of cross-relations, as seen in the Masses [44]. Similar instances can be seen in the motets: *Ave lumen gratiae,* final cadence; *O lux beata,* measure 7; *Maria plena virtute,* 46, 144, the last involving a-natural and a-flat.

5. *Cadence practice*

As in the Masses, Fayrfax perhaps reveals his style most clearly in his cadences, of which there are three types depending upon where they occur: final, sectional, and intermediate. The final cadences, especially, reveal both progressive and conservative traits; six are authentic, two plagal [45]. Of the former, *Ave lumen gratiae* has a Dorian authentic cadence, *Salve Regina,* a Dorian plagal, both modal, conservative endings. The other authentic cadences reveal a strong tonal or harmonic concept, the Bass acting as a true Bass, moving on roots a fourth apart, the dominant actually generating the tonic.

The sectional cadences, those occuring at ends of sections, usually followed by a double bar, exhibit greater diversity than do the final cadences. Fourteen are authentic, thirteen are plagal, six can be represented by the Roman Numerals I-V or IV-V, five are leading-tone cadences, two are II-I, two are VI-I, and one is Burgundian. Fayrfax's most conservative of all cadences is found in the Magnificat *O bone Jesu* (m. 120-21) where the third is missing in the final chord, the only such instance in all of Fayrfax's sacred music. Another conservative trait in this cadence is the Bass leaping an octave to be above the Tenor in the final chord.

The intermediate cadences, those occuring within sections, show still greater diversity than the sectional cadences. The deceptive V-IV, V-VI,

[40] For discussion and illustration of this harmonic progression see *MD* XII, 167-68.

[41] Parallel octaves: *Albanus,* Credo, 120-21; *O quam glorifica,* Credo, 19; *Regali,* Credo, 99-100; *Tecum Principium,* Gloria, 133. Parallel fifths: *O bone Jesu,* Credo, 113, Agnus Dei, 100; *Regali,* Credo, 5, 16-17, 123.

[42] Parallel octaves: 12, 39, 156; parallel fifths: 12, 26, 30, 31, 151-52.

[43] 151-52.

[44] *MD* XII, 168-69.

[45] Authentic: *Aeternae laudis lilium, Ave Dei Patris, Maria plena virtute,* both Magnificats; plagal: *Salve Regina, O lux beata Trinitas.*

VII-IV cadences, not used as sectional endings, occur eight times. The authentic leads the list with twenty-nine occurences; the leading-tone cadence is next with sixteen, followed by the plagal with ten, II-I with two, Burgundian with two, and VI-I and I-V each with one. Fayrfax uses the earlier plagal, Phrygian, deceptive, and Burgundian formulae far more often in the Masses than he does in the motets and Magnificats. There are only four Burgundian cadences in the motets and Magnificats; three of these are in *Salve Regina* (138-39, 143, 145), and one is in the Magnificat Regali (84-85), both among his earliest works. The cadence, which by Fayrfax's time had become almost archaic, is totally absent in the other works.

The special treatment of the Bass voice, leaping an octave to be above the Tenor in the final chord, and dropping out on the final chord, occurs much less frequently in the motets and Magnificats than in the Masses. The sectional cadence in Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* referred to above, is the most notable example of the leaping Bass. Magnificat *Regali* has four examples of the authentic cadence with the Bass resting in the final chord [46], a technique reminiscent of Ockeghem.

The above conservative traits are offset by the harmonic completeness of the chords and the use of dissonances, especially the suspension, in the cadence. Practically all the important authentic cadences use the 4-3 suspension, the leading-tone cadences the 7-6 suspension. In addition to suspensions, other nonharmonic tones used to strengthen the cadence are the six-four position of IV in the plagal cadence (Magnificat *Regali,* 71-72, 122), the passing sixth [47] in the plagal cadence (Magnificat *Regali,* 142; *Ave lumen gratiae,* 36-37); the appoggiatura sixth (Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* final cadence); the cambiata in the authentic cadence (*Aeternae laudis,* 44-45); and passing and escape tones both in the plagal cadence (Magnificat *Regali,* 119). These progressive traits in Fayrfax's cadences, the harmonic completeness and use of dissonances, clearly point the way to later sixteenth century practice. At the same time, the conservative aspects look back on the fifteenth century. Nowhere in all music can this transition between the two centuries be more clearly seen than in Fayrfax's cadences.

6. *Dissonance*

Even a casual glance at the music of Fayrfax gives the impression of infrequent use of dissonance. A thorough analysis reveals the almost startling

[46] Meas. 18, 21-22, 24-25, 75-76. *Aeternae laudis lilium* has three examples: 117-18, 133, 138; *Maria plena virtute* one, 197-98; *Ave Dei Patris* has a beautiful deceptive VII_6-IV cadence, in which the Bass drops out in the second chord, 92-93.

[47] *MD* XII, 174.

[48] *Ibid.,* 171-75.

fact that slightly less than one-fifth of the beats carry dissonance, indicating that Fayrfax used it less than rhythm to give life to the music which is consonant four-fifths of the time. However, because it is used sparingly, the dissonance becomes all the more effective.

As in the Masses [48], the passing tone off the beat as a passing or relatively-accented dissonance occurs the most frequently. A very common rhythmic figure, especially in *Salve Regina* and Magnificat *Regali,* is an eighth note followed by two sixteenths in which the first sixteenth note is a passing tone, occasionally a passing seventh. The suspension is the most important of the primary dissonances, those falling on the beat. The 4-3 and 7-6 are the most common; the 9-8, 2-1, 6-5, 5-4 singly and in chains are also found. It has already been observed that the suspension is an important ingredient of the cadence.

The *nota cambiata* appears more frequently in the motets and Magnificats than in the Masses. The rising form, not found in the Masses, does occur in these works [49]. Though used more often than in the Masses, the cambiata still does not approach the frequency of use in the late sixteenth century; but it is given a more diversified treatment.

As in the Masses, the appoggiatura is used boldly and freely by Fayrfax, especially in *Maria plena virtute* [50]. The escape tone appears less frequently than in the Masses; typical examples are *Salve Regina,* 19, 22, 36; *Maria plena virtute,* 3. Other dissonances to appear infrequently are the neighboring-tone [51], the portamento (anticipation) [52], the accented six-four in the plagal cadence [53], and the substitute sixth in the cadence [54]. Many combinations of dissonances are evident: double suspensions, double approggiaturas (Magnificat *Regali,* 22; *O bone Jesu,* 84, an especially good example); double passing tones; passing-tone and suspension (*Salve Regina,* 123-24); lower neighboring tone and passing tone; appoggiatura and

[49] *Maria plena virtute,* 140 (the rare four-note rising cambiata); 184, 193, 197-98; Ave Dei Patris, 156, 158; *Ave luhmen gratiae,* 8; *Aeternae laudis lilium,* 137-38 (four-note form); Magnificat *Regali,* 65, 78, 105-106; Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* 54.

[50] Appoggiatura fourth, 31; app. sixth, 38, 97, 185, 199, and elsewhere; other examples can be seen in *Salve Regina,* 10, 12; Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* 145. Other instances, which can also be considered accented passing tones: *Salve Regina,* 34, 39, 125, 129; *Ave Dei Patris,* 156; *Ave lumen gratiae,* 4; Magnificat *Regali,* 107; *Maria plena virtute,* 55, 63, 159.

[51] *Salve Regina,* 32 (LNT), 39 (UNT), 123 (accented UNT); *Maria plena virtute,* 64 (UNT).

[52] *Ave lumen gratiae,* 2; *O lux beata Trinitas,* 7, 9, 13, and elsewhere; *Maria plena virtute,* 159.

[53] Magnificat *Regali,* 23, 71-72; the accented six-four-three: *Salve Regina,* 36.

[54] As a passing tone: *Ave lumen gratiae,* 24; *O lux beata Trinitas,* 75; as an appoggiatura: *O lux beata Trinitas,* 14; *Ave Dei Patris,* 41 and several examples from meas. 156 to the end.

passing tone (Magnificat *O bone Jesu,* 126); double accented passing tones or appoggiaturas (Magnificat *Regali,* 107); passing tone and escape tone (*Salve Regina,* 15); in a plagal cadence (Magnificat *Regali,* 119); *cambiata* and passing tone (*Ave Dei Patris,* 158).

Of all the motets and Magnificat settings, *Salve Regina* contains the largest number of dissonances, especially the harsh variety, which indicates its early position in Fayrfax's works, besides being found in the Eton manuscript. This motet reflects even a pre-fifteenth century attitude toward dissonance in three-part writing, a voice being consonant with one other voice but not necessarily consonant with both. *Maria plena virtute,* on the other hand, reveals Fayrfax's most advanced and refined use of dissonance, substantiating the assumption that it, with Missa *Tecum Principium,* is his last work. In these two works Fayrfax anticipates the later sixteenth century use of dissonance, not only technically, but for expressive purposes.

G. CONCLUSION: FAYRFAX'S STYLE

It is possible that Fayrfax had composed all his Masses, motets, and settings of the Magnificat by the time he was forty-six years of age. He should have been in his most productive period at this time, and the question arises, what did he compose during the last ten years of his life? He did write some secular music (the third volume of the *Collected Works*) but it is of slight importance compared with his sacred music. Was he too busy at St. Alban's and the Chapel Royal? Did he have nothing more to say musically? He was not an experimenter or innovator, although recognized in his time as the leader of his school, and "the prime musitian of the nation". It is curious, therefore, that his productivity waned. It is possible that later works have disappeared, but this is unlikely, even though many manuscripts were destroyed during the Reformation. His earlier works were too well known for later ones not to have found their way into contemporary manuscripts which did escape destruction.

It is also curious that Fayrfax's style did not develop far past that of his earliest-known work, the Magnificat *Regali* of about 1490. However, this work reveals a remarkably advanced style for its time and a more advanced style than that of many of the works which followed it. There are no clear-cut "periods" in his music, which makes it nearly impossible to date or even to arrange the works in chronological order. All of the music reveals a remarkable uniformity, hence, purity, of style, which, paradoxically, is based upon contradictions of style in the same composition.

The Magnificat settings are conservative in their uniformity of length, use of perfect and imperfect time, alternate verse settings, little imitation in *O bone Jesu,* which is in the Dorian mode; *Regali,* on the other hand, reveals progressive traits in its use of the Ionian mode, harmonic style,

especially in its cadences, and also in its extensive employment of imitation.

The motets show similar mixtures of style. *Salve Regina* is conservative in its Dorian mode, troped text, cadences, use of dissonance, in its rhythmic and melodic style, but progressive in its emphasis on imitation. *Ave lumen gratiae* shows conservative traits also in its mode (Dorian), but mostly progressive traits in its four-part writing, imitative texture, use of dissonance, and its smooth voice writing. *Ave Dei Patris,* on the other hand, shows earliest compositions, displays advanced use of the Ionian mode, cadences, mode (Dorian), and imitation. *Aeternae laudis lilium,* also one of the earliest compositions, displays advanced use of the Ionian mode, cadences, and dissonance as well as imitation. *O lux beata Trinitas,* the only *cantus firmus* composition other than the Masses, displays conservative use of the *cantus firmus,* fauxbourdon, use of the Phrygian mode, (the only example in all the music of Fayrfax) harmony, cadences, and imitation; on the other hand, its four-voice texture, sixteenth-century fauxbourdon, and treatment of dissonance all look ahead to later practice. *Maria plena virtute,* the most advanced of the motets in its cadences, dissonance-treatment, imitation, use of written a-flats, is also conservative in its mixed signatures and Dorian-Aeolian mode. Following is a tabulation of these so-called conservative and progressive traits in Fayrfax's style.

Conservative traits	*Progressive traits*
Uniformity of length Perfect and Imperfect time Text setting: Trope Alternate verses	Text more important than in Masses; more attempt at expression of text
Phrygian, Dorian, mixed Dorian-Aeolian mode	Ionian mode
Emphasis on three-part writing	Emphasis on five-part writing in *Maria plena* and *Aeternae laudis;* 4-part in *Ave lumen* and *O lux beata*
Practically no familiar style	
Harmony: major and minor triads	Triads complete
Root position, first inversions	
Root movements by seconds	Root movements by fourths
Parallel octaves and fifths in *Salve Regina*	No parallel octaves and fifths after *Salve Regina*
Cross relations	Cross relations (cf. later 16th C. English practice)

Cadences: Dorian authentic and plagal Burgundian in *Salve Regina* and Magnificat *Regali* Deceptive	Authentic cadences Suspensions and other dissononance in cadence
Syncopated rhythms	Melodic-rhythmic writing more concise, fewer wide leaps and sudden rests than in Masses; little melismatic writing; all voices vocal and active, including-Tenor, even in *cantus-firmus* composition, *O lux beata*
Texture: little imitation in three of the works; mostly non-imitative texture in all the music	Much imitation in five works
Infrequent use of dissonance. Harsh dissonance in *Salve Regina*	Dissonance, because infrequent, all more effective; advanced use of suspension, cambiata, appoggiatura; refined use in later works, especially in *Maria plena virtute*

It is this mixture of conservative and progressive traits, usually in the same composition, which creates Fayrfax's style. And it is this very mixture which reveals him to be an important transitional figure in music history: the conservative aspects of his style summarize fifteenth-century practice, the progressive look ahead to the later sixteenth century. Thus, though smaller in scope than the Masses, Fayrfax's motets and settings of the Magnificat constitute a significant contribution to the motet-Magnificat literature of early English renaissance music.

CHANGES IN THE LITERARY TEXTS OF THE LATE 15th AND EARLY 16th CENTURIES, AS SHOWN IN THE WORKS OF THE CHANSON COMPOSERS OF THE PAYS-BAS MÉRIDIONAUX

MARGERY ANTHEA BAIRD

In the majority of cases it is impossible to establish the authorship of the texts used in the chansons by composers of the Pays-Bas [1]. This is mainly because the authors of the texts were never mentioned in the part-books, though as a rule the composers of the chansons were known. It is possible that some of the musicians may have written their own verse. By now, however, the gulf between poet and musician was quite real, and there are few men like Busnois on the 16th-century musical scene. The fact that so little of the verse set to music appears in any of the collections of poetry of the late 15th and early 16th centuries (e.g. *Le Jardin de Plaisance,* 1501), indicates that it was written for the sole purpose of being set to music. As a result it may not have been considered worthy of appearing in a collection of poetry as such. On the other hand it is more than probable that much of the verse dates from the 15th century, for the reason, among others, that the composer has always preferred the already familiar. It is also likely that many of the texts, written in the 16th century and used by the chanson composers, continued to be modelled on the literary *genres* prevalent in the preceding centuries, thus giving them the appearance of having been written before 1500 or thereabouts.

Before discussing the changes that were taking place in the poetry of the late 15th century, a few words are necessary about the old literary *formes fixes,* which persisted during the opening years of the new century and greatly influenced the shape of the new freer poetry, and the new musical trends as well.

There is a difference of opinion on whether the rondeau began purely as a dance, which was later adapted to a text, or vice-versa [2]. Be this as it may, the rondeau as a musical and literary form dates from about the 13th

[1] Any generalisations made are based on a study only of a representative selection of the chansons published in the first part of the 16th century.

[2] See Marcel Francon, Ed. *Albums poétiques de Marguerite d'Autriche.* Cambridge, Mass., 1934; and G. Raynaud, *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XVe siècle . . .* Paris, 1889.

century. The earliest texts consisted of two lines of refrain alternating with two lines of verse. The following is an example of a rondeau text by Adam de la Halle:

	Text	Music
Bonne amourete	A (refrain)	A
Me tient gai	B (refrain)	B
Ma compaignete	a (verse)	A
Bon amourete	A (refrain)	A
Ma canconnete	a (verse)	A
Vous dirai	b „	B
Bonne amourete	A (refrain)	A
Me tient gai [3]	B „	B

Throughout its history it retains this basic form. This earliest type of rondeau is called the *rondeau simple,* and it was soon followed by a larger version using four lines of refrain alternating with four stanza lines. This is called the *rondeau double.* In the 15th century it was often called the *rondeau quatrain* to distinguish it from the *rondeau cinquain,* (with a five-line refrain and five-line stanza structure), which gained a wide popularity towards the end of the century, and whose influence is felt well into the 16th century. Here is the refrain of a *rondeau quatrain:*

Au plus offrant ma dame est mise
Et dernier encherisseur
Je ne scay ce cest par honneur
Mais je n'en prise pas la guise [4].

and of a *rondeau cinquain:*

Amours: cest le cry de la nuyt
Et fault de celluy qui conduyt
Le mestier saiche bien comprendre
Que se le chasteau se doit rendre
Aller y doit sans faire bruyt [5].

We will see how both these forms were to be carried on by Marot in the new, freer forms, but without the repetitions.

As the verses grew in length the refrain tended to become shorter. Instead of the customary repetition of the complete refrain after the second and third stanzas, only one line was repeated of the *rondeau quatrain,* and two lines in the case of the *rondeau cinquain.* By the middle of the 15th

[3] Helen Hewitt, Ed. *Harmonice musices odhecaton A.* Cambridge, Mass., 1942, p. 44.

[4] *Le Jardin de plaisance.* 1501. fol. 115vo.

[5] *idem,* fol. 116.

century this procedure was carried to even greater lengths, and only the repetition of the first half of the initial refrain line was indicated. This was known as the *rentrement* or return. The function of the rentrement in literary manuscripts of the 15th century is not clear. It may indicate the repetition of the few words actually written down, or of the first complete line of the refrain, or of the whole refrain. Each example is a problem in itself and can only be judged from the particular context. From the musical point of view it is even more difficult. A return to the beginning again after the *rentrement* would, in almost every case, be musically impossible [6], and the same can be said for the return at the end of the first complete line. By examining a number of the musical settings it is clear that a break can be made at the end of the second line of the refrain in the *rondeau quatrain,* and at the end of the third line in the *rondeau cinquain.* These lines generally terminate with a strong cadence, making a return to the beginning quite satisfactory. We can only assume, from the exceptional cases where a return is not feasible, that uniformity in the matter of refrains and *rentrements* did not exist. This would also appear to mark a step in the freeing of the music from the literary *formes fixes.*

The other two *formes fixes* — the *virelai* and *ballade* — became less popular as the 15th century wore on, but the influence of the latter in particular is felt in the new freer forms of the 16th century. A revival of interest in the virelai, however, occurred during the closing years of the 15th century. It was shortened to one verse only and became known as the *bergerette.* Busnois has left many such delightful settings. But its rather complicated structure, and endless repetitions, did not attract the poets in the early 16th century, and as a literary form it was virtually dead by 1500.

The *ballade,* however, did continue to be written and to be set to music, though in a modified form — with only one verse instead of three, and the omission of the *envoi* altogether. The ballade is a very simple form, both from the musical and the literary points of view. The scheme — the equivalent of the German *Bar* form — was:

Text	AB	AB	BCBC
Music	A	A	B

The one-verse ballade continued to be set to music for many years, and it is somewhat curious to note that Mr. Reese, when speaking of Josquin as a chanson writer, says: "Among the pieces in the "formes fixes", it is

[6] Two interesting examples illustrating the possibility of this procedure are provided by Créquillon's "D'ung seul regard" and "Cherchant plaisir", although in each case only five lines of text are provided, which makes it difficult to judge whether they are rondeaus proper or not.

rather surprising to find, especially since Josquin rarely wrote in them, an occasional example of the antiquated ballade" [7]. It is no longer the "antiquated ballade" that Josquin used, but a rejuvenated form that was taken over into the 16th century by poets such as Marot.

Alongside the stereotyped verse of the *formes fixes,* texts of a simpler character were beginning to appear towards the close of the 15th century. These were of a more popular appeal. Although the love lament remains very much to the fore, there is a greater variety in the subject matter of the texts — songs of love, especially of the delights before marriage; songs of the woes of marriage itself, of making a wrong match; songs of adventure; satirical and pastoral songs; songs about contemporary events, and so on. It is probable that many of these texts were adapted to popular tunes, and sung currently throughout the 15th century. But the greatest masters of the period, Josquin, Compère, Mouton, Willaert, Gombert and many others did not disdain to set these songs to music in several parts. Quite often the same poets, who wrote in the *genre courtois,* also wrote this popular poetry, though they rarely signed their names to the latter type [8]. They, no doubt, thought it beneath their dignity to admit the authorship of verses appealing to those outside the court circles. They preferred to address their work to the esoteric society of the court, with its grossly artificial conception of chivalrous ideals.

The new poetry is distinguished from that of the preceding era by a return to a more natural form of expression. One adjective now sufficed where three or four had previously been necessary. The 15th century, beginning with Chartier and ending with Crétin, had been dominated by the rhetoricians. But, Villon, along with a number of followers, succeeded in bringing "une veine de poésie toute neuve, abondante, fraîche et savoureuse" [9], instilling new life into the old forms and preparing the ground for the new.

The freer forms found in much of the popular verse of the late 15th century undoubtedly had an effect on the work of Clément Marot (1494-1544). He wrote a number of free verses which he called "chansons", and in which he combined the technical skill of the rhetorician's art with the spontaneity and grace of the popular song. He writes, in the *genre courtois,* mainly love songs in which he, the poet, addresses himself to his lady; or he speaks of love and its rules; or he grieves over the death of the loved one, and so on. His chansons, with their rhythmical clarity, are ideally suited

[7] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance.* London, 1954. p. 232.

[8] See Jean Rollin, *Les Chansons de Clément Marot: étude historique et bibliographique.* Paris, 1951. p. 77.

[9] Gaston Paris, *Chansons du XVe siècle.* Paris, 1875. p. ix.

for setting to music. They were used mainly by French composers — Sérmisy, Lejeune, Janequin and others — whose works were published for the most part in France. However, I have transcribed one example by a Netherlander — a setting of "Secoures moy, madame" by Gombert — from the *Deuxième livre* of Susato (1544). I quote the opening verse as it appears in the Susato edition:

Secoures moy madame par amours
Ou autrement la mort me vient querir
Autre que vous ne peult donner secours
A mon las coeur lequel s'en va mourir
Hellas, hellas, venez tost secourir
Celluy qui vis pour vous en grant tristesse
Car de son coeur vous estes la maistresse [10].

The freedom of Marot's text is matched by the skill of Gombert's freely contrapuntal setting.

Although Marot's chansons are free in their form, yet they betray certain influences of the old rondeau and ballade, and this applied to the anonymous verse also. Many of his poems and those of his contemporaries, whose names are unknown to us, are modelled on the *rondeau cinquain,* with the rhyme scheme AABBA, or on the *rondeau quatrain,* with the pattern ABBA or ABAB. I quote an example by Marot:

Long temps y a que je vy en espoir
Et que Rigueur a dessus moy pouvoir;
Mais si jamais je rencontre Allegeance,
Je luy diray: 'Madame, venez veoir;
Rigueur me bat, faictes m'en la vengeance' [11].

and an anonymous one set to music by Gombert:

Triste depart m'avoir mis en douleur
Mon corps etait plus froit qui n'est le marbre
Transi de deuil et sechant comme ung arbre
Ma face avait perdu toutte couleur [12].

Unfortunately only one verse is given in the part books from which transcriptions have been made, which makes it difficult to determine whether certain of the songs are rondeaux or not. But, on examining several of these apparent *rondeaux cinquains,* we see that a return to the beginning

[10] There are three verses given in the edition by Rollin of Marot's chansons. There are also slight deviations in the text at lines 5 and 6 of the first verse. In the Rollin edition (p. 225) these read,

Helas! Helas! veuillez donc secourir
Celuy qui vyt pour vous en grand' destresse.

[11] Jean Rollin, *Op. cit.,* p. 198.

[12] Susato, *5e livre de chansons à 5 et à 6.* Anvers, 1544.

again, after the repetition of the first two or three lines of the refrain, would be quite feasible. Similarly, the ballade continues to be produced, in a one-stanza form, and without the *envoi*. Here is an example by Marot:

Celle qui m'a tant pourmene
A eu pitie de ma longueur:
Dedans son jardin m'a mene,
Ou tous arbres sont en vigueur;
Adonques n'usa de rigueur:
Si je la baise, elle m'accolle;
Puis m'a donne son noble cueur,
Dont il m'est advis que je vole [13].

and an anonymous one set to music by Clemens Non Papa:

Misericorde au martir amoureulx
Qu'en amour avait ferme fiance
Misericorde au pauvre langoureux
Qui de tous bien a perdu l'esperance
O cueur cruel ce n'est pas grand science
De me laisser en tel deuil et soulcy
Si jay mal faict ou comis quelque offense
Pardonnes moy, je demande mercy [14].

But, although much of the early 16th century verse seems to follow the rules of the old literary forms, there is an absence of stereotyped structures. The poet is completely free to use whatever metrical pattern he wishes, as many lines as he deems it necessary. Nevertheless, the tendency is in favour of short verses, and fewer of them (this meant less repetition of the same phrases in musical settings), alternation of masculine and feminine endings, and a preference for the octosyllabic and decasyllabic lines.

The texts used in the chansons of the period show as wide a variety in their subject matter as in their form. The majority of the texts treat love in one or other of its many aspects, and are more or less free in their formal structure. There are the old familiar laments of unrequited love [15]; of grief at parting and separation [16]; songs in praise of love and of the beloved [17]; and songs of the joys of love [18]. The chansons on pastoral

[13] Examples of two such chansons are: "Aveque vous" by Payen, and "Petite fleur" by Créquillon.

[14] "Phalèse", *1er livre de chansons à 4*. Louvain, 1558.

[15] "Par trop aymer" by Manchicourt, in Phalèse, *4e livre chansons à 4*. Louvain, 1555.

[16] "Triste depart" by Gombert, in Susato, *5e livre de chansons à 5 et à 6*. Anvers, 1544.

[17] "Ta bonne grace" by Canis, in Susato, *idem*.

[18] "Amour a faict" by Créquillon, in Susato, *2e livre de chansons à 4*. Anvers, 1544.

themes are quite rare [19]. This is particularly striking when a comparison is made between the chanson texts and those used by the madrigalists later in the century. Chansons on topical subjects are not uncommon — the composer often sings of his lack of money [20], and even the publisher, Susato, left a version of "D'argent me plains". Texts in a satirical vein also make an appearance [21], as well as those of a philosophical nature [22] — treating the transitoriness of human life and similar themes. A rather unusual text is the grace said before and after the meal of which I have discovered one musical setting [23]. There are a few rather risqué texts, matched by an appropriate musical counterpart [24].

The length of the verse can be anything from four to eight lines. The most popular lengths, however, would seem to be the verse of five lines, modelled on the old *rondeau cinquain* rhyme scheme — AABBA — and the eight-line stanza, which often follows the ballade structure — ABAB, BCBC. But, there are many verses employing four or six lines.. The stanza of seven lines is not very common, and one rarely finds a text of over eight lines [25].

This new free type of verse had a great influence on the musical structure. Although the old rondeau and ballade tend to linger on in a modified form, there is no strict adherence to the old musical rules regarding the setting of such texts. Many composers reproduce the shape of the older musical-poetic forms — Clemens Non Papa even seems to have a preference for the old ballade in its new form. But the hard and fast rules of the 15th century no longer govern either text or music. The freedom in the setting of a text is seen to best advantage by examining the setting by two different composers of the same text. An example is "Le temps qui court", used by Richafort and Créquillon, each writing for four voices. Both chansons appear in Susato's eighth book of songs for four voices, published in

[19] "Le bergier et la bergiere" by Gallus, in Susato, *Vingt et six chansons.* Anvers, 1541(?).

[20] "Faulte d'argent" by Canis, in Susato, *5e livre de chansons à 5 et à 6.* Anvers, 1544.

[21] "Le temps qui court" by Créquillon, in Susato, *8e livre à 4.* Anvers, 1545. There is also a setting of this text by Richafort in the same edition of Susato.

[22] "Comme la rose" by Petit Jean Delatre, in Phalèse, *7e livre de chansons à 4.* Anvers, 1609.

[23] "O souverain Pasteur" and "Pere eternel" by Clemens Non Papa, in Phalèse, *idem.*

[24] "Frais et gaillard" by Clemens Non Papa, in Susato", *8e livre de chansons à 4.* Anvers, 1545; and "Il etait une fillette" by Canis, in Susato, *2e livre de chansons à 4.* Anvers, 1544.

[25] An example is "Donne me fut des cieulx" by Petit Jean Delatre, in *Le Parangon, 8e livre.* Lyon, Moderne, 1541.

Antwerp in 1545. The text is quite free, with an irregular rhyme scheme. Here it is in full:

Le temps qui court requiert que l'on se tayse
Et que l'on rit quand on est a malaise
Dissimulant ce qu'on voit et entend
De montrer fault qu'on est du tout content
Combien qu'on voit chose qui point ne playse
Par quoy je dis qui veut vivre a son aise
Taire ou bien dire affin qu'il ne deplaise
Car a flatter ung chascun y pretend.

Créquillon sets the text in the freest manner, using a series of points, and weaving them into a continuously polyphonic texture. Richafort, on the contrary, adopts a more sectional form, in which the opening phrase (to the first complete line of text) reappears twice in the middle of the chanson (to the fourth and fifth lines of the text), and the same phrase rounds off the whole piece, using the opening words, much in the style of a rondeau refrain.

Many of the texts I have referred to above as having retained the shape of the old ballade and rondeau forms receive a completely free musical setting — usually in the manner of an imitative point to each line of text. A favourite new form is the tripartite division of the music, in which a distinct recapitulation of the opening measures (generally using the last line of the stanza — not repeating the opening words of the text along with the music) rounds off the piece, giving it the musical shape ABA, or what is generally termed "song-form".

Among the changes which transformed the literary and musical genres of the early 16th century, none is more significant than the improvement in the setting of the French language to music. This is becoming evident from the closing years of the 15th century. For a long time secular art-music had been in close contact with the folksong. Many 15th century chansons drew on popular tunes to provide the *cantus firmus* on which their musical structure was based. But it took more than the contact with folk art to bring about the astounding revolution in the relationship between music and text. The extra stimulus came from the new intellectual movement which was beginning to penetrate most artistic channels of early 16th century life.

A comparison of any one chanson written in the "new style" with any one from the preceding Burgundian era will be illuminating on several points — not least being the difference in the setting of the text. I take the rondeau "Mon seul et souverain desir" by Binchois [26], and a freely homo-

[26] *Das Chorwerk,* 22. Gilles Binchois. Sechzehn weltliche Lieder. Herausgegeben von Willibald Gurlitt. No. 9, p. 10.

phonic setting of "Comme la rose se perd" by Delatre [27]. The former is divided into two sections with a distinct break and a rest in the middle. This is all a matter of convention and has nothing whatsoever to do with expressing the mood of the poem. The Delatre song, on the other hand, is well punctuated with cadences and rests, but these are used for artistic purposes. The contemplative mood of the poem is exactly matched by the consonance of the music. As a result the occasional use of dissonance (at measure 16, e.g.) is all the more effective. With Binchois dissonance occurs only as an incidental feature in the linear structure of the individual line. Delatre's syllabic treatment of the text, with a just regard for the metre of the poem, contrasts sharply with the meandering line of Binchois' *superius,* and the typically Burgundian displacement of accent which results, and which bears no relation to the metrical scheme of the poem.

It is clear from this Delatre setting and from many others that the 16th century had re-discovered an essential characteristic of the French language — namely, the predominance of strong accents. There is an evenness, a rhythmic flow quite unlike that of the English language, and there are many less weak or feminine endings than in Italian. French is a strong language, and when sung, its declamatory character, with an absence of elisions, is heard to best advantage if a note is given to almost every syllable of text. This distinguishing characteristic of the French language is quite lost in the melismatic ramblings of the erotic Burgundian chanson. This aptitude for syllabic setting does not, however, exclude all melismatic treatment. There are words, which, by their particularly strong accent or their position or importance in the phrase, demand singling out for special treatment. Thus, the meaning of the text is heightened in an admirable way, but it is considerably blurred by the constant use of such means.

The difference in text setting lies just here. In the 15th century chanson there is a meandering, indecisive quality in the setting — an unconsciousness, not of the structure of the text, but of the rhythm; in the 16th century chanson there is a clarity and precision — the result of a conscious consideration, not only of the formal structure of the poem, but of its rhythmic structure also. It is a difference in conception and style which separates the two centuries. This difference in approach, however, is not synonymous with a disparity in the quality of the work of art thus attained.

University of London Library, September 1960.

[27] Phalèse, *7e livre de chansons à 4.* Anvers, 1609.

THE *DODECACHORDON*: ITS ORIGINS AND INFLUENCE ON RENAISSANCE MUSICAL THOUGHT *

CLEMENT A. MILLER

"As many men, so many minds; every one his own way". When Glarean was editing the works of Terence he undoubtedly did not realize that this passage by the comic poet would prove to be a fitting epitaph for the *Dodecachordon,* but time has shown that such is the case. Ever since its publication in 1547, Glarean's treatise on music has been studied and evaluated, accepted by some and rejected by others. Opinions of the comprehensive value of the book have varied from age to age, from writer to writer. In the period immediately following the appearance of the book an important but not exclusive interest of musicians and theorists was Glarean's theory of twelve modes. Later on, with the development of tonality and the reduction of modes to major and minor, many writers began to emphasize other aspects of the treatise. Since the Baroque era it has become a significant and copious source for the music and musical practices of the Renaissance, although individual writers very frequently have held divergent opinions concerning the value of its contents.

Even in more recent times there is considerable variation of thought. Ambros [1] was of the opinion that the principal value of Glarean's book lay in the breadth of its text, while Riemann [2] said that it was of greater significance as an anthology than as a theoretical work. Lang considers the *Dodecachordon* "especially valuable for its exhaustive treatment of the complicated polyphonic method of composition of the Franco-Flemish school" [3], and Besseler says that Glarean "mit seinem *Dodecachordon* der humanistischen Musikverehrung ein bleibendes Denkmal errichtet hat" [4].

* *Editor's note:* The entire text of the *Dodecachordon,* in translation into English, with all the examples, including a transcription of all the polyphony, appear as No. 6 in the series *Musicological Studies and Documents* of the American Institute of Musicology. Dr. Miller is the translator and editor.

[1] A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1881), III, 468.

[2] Hugo Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie* (Berlin, 1920), 359.

[3] Paul H. Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, 1941), 294.

[4] Heinrich Besseler, "Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance", *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft* (Potsdam, 1931), II, 271.

While these viewpoints reflect differences about Glarean's tome as a whole, there is also no agreement concerning the impact on sixteenth century thought by its principal thesis, the twelve modes, and their acceptance or rejection during the remainder of the century. According to Strunk, for example, the book had "a tremendous influence on the changing concept of the modal system" [5]. Albrecht [6] believes that the appearance of the *Dodecachordon* could not be considered a sensation, and that the new modal theory was in no way generally accepted by succeeding generations.

In view of the varied estimates of the book it seemed advisable in this paper to point out some of the origins of the material the treatise contains, and also to produce evidence that the *Dodecachordon,* if not immediately sensational, had a profound and far-reaching effect on the musical thought of the time, an effect which was acknowledged either implicitly or explicitly not only by distinguished theorists but also by many Renaissance composers.

ORIGINS

In tracing the development of the *Dodecachordon* as a monumental fusion of ancient thought and contemporary practice, there seem to be two principle factors which contributed to Glarean's solution. One is his humanistic education and background, and the other is his dissatisfaction with contemporary modal theory. A dominant theme of the entire treatise is the conception that the world of antiquity could be fitted into Renaissance life without overthrowing the existing order. Friendship and close association with Erasmus undoubtedly represent the essential influence for this point of view. Venerating the older man as *parens* and *praeceptor,* Glarean shared the Erasmian concept that an intensified revival of classical learning was a restoration of knowledge that had been corrupted by the ravages of time rather than a motivation for a new order and a new philosophy. Therefore he declared that the theory of twelve modes was not an innovation but a "proper renewal of antiquity" [7].

On the other hand he did not find satisfying the current explanation of modal practice. The idea of finals and confinals was not appealing. He was disturbed by the varied use of such terms as *tonus* and *modus,* a procedure inherited from medieval theorists. Gafurius, whom he admired in many respects, spoke of the synonymous use of these terms, although in his own discussion of the eight modes he adhered to the term *tonus* [8]. The

[5] Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), 219.

[6] Hans Albrecht, "Glarean(us)", *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1956), V, col. 219.

[7] *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547), Preface.

[8] Franchinus Gafurius, *Practica Musicae* (Milan, 1496), cap. 7.

modi were defined as intervals by Listenius [9], while he employed *tonus* for interval relationships as well as for the modes. Glarean observed that the use of *tonus* for *modus* was so general that one would be considered ignorant of music if he did not follow suit [10].

In common with most humanists Glarean had a firm belief in a fundamental tenet of Greek culture, the doctrine of ethos. He was well versed in the statements of the ancients, especially Plato, who emphasized the ethical quality and force of music. He had a strong desire to revive this ethical quality in music, a desire which was "the real driving force behind the theory and practice of the more enthusiastic class of humanist" [11]. His hope of reconciling the opinions of the ancients on modes with the musical practices of his day resulted in the theory of the twelve modes, announced on the opening page of the *Dodecachordon.*

Among the first to have a direct and personal influence on Glarean's musical development was Johannes Cochlaeus, theologian and author of several music treatises [12]. Glarean studied at the University of Cologne between 1506 and 1510, and during that time came under the influence of Cochlaeus, who combined an interest in ancient theory with a practical regard for the music of his time. His humanistic tendencies are manifested most clearly in the treatment of Latin poetry. In teaching the poetic meters he arranged short four-part polyphonic compositions in chordal style, setting the music and text syllabically and in conformance with a particular meter. The poetry included sacred texts as well as several Horatian odes. This practice is of course similar to the settings made by Tritonius, and it is likely that Cochlaeus was familiar with these settings, which were published in 1507 [13].

Since Glarean was completely opposed to polyphonic settings of the Horatian odes, the influence of his teacher in this regard must have been slight, and confined to poetic principles rather than musical ideas. The odes that Glarean included in his book are set monophonically and are a direct result of his belief that this was the way in which they were performed in antiquity. He had great respect for his teacher, however, incorporating some of Cochlaeus' musical examples in the *Dodecachordon*

[9] Nicolaus Listenius, *Musica* (Leipzig, 1544), cap. 9.

[10] *Dodecachordon,* 29.

[11] D. P. Walker, "Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries", *Music Review,* II, 1941, 9.

[12] *Musica* (Cologne, 1507), and *Tetrachordum Musices* (Nürnberg, 1511), which is an enlarged version of the *Musica.*

[13] Cochlaeus was teaching in Nürnberg in 1510, and in the following year published the *Tetrachordum,* which contains his four-part settings of the odes.

and concluding the work with a poem he had written to Cochlaeus while still a student in Cologne.

In 1514 Glarean went to Basel and established a school in which he taught Latin classics and the elements of Greek. Here he published the *Isagoge in Musicen,* in which he already expressed a lack of enthusiasm for conventional modal theory. He recognized the hiatus that existed between his understanding of the modes and their usage in former times. For him there were few musicians who could teach anything "worthy of ancient tradition, either concerning the genera of melodies or the constitution and effects of the modes" [14], and in his opinion, while all other disciplines were being renewed and elevated, music alone had no one to revitalize it. He questioned the validity of current modal explanations, adding that he would offer opposition on the subject if he were not writing an isagoge.

Glarean's humanistic convictions were strengthened further when he went to Paris in 1517. Here he had the opportunity of associating with the foremost scholars, humanists, and musicians. Among these was Faber Stapulensis, who became a close friend and colleague of Glarean, who often entertained the French humanist in his home. Together they would sing, joke, debate, and laugh at the foolish world [15]. In addition to major works in Biblical studies and critical editions of works of Boethius and Aristotle, Stapulensis wrote a modest treatise entitled *Elementa Musicalia.* Published in 1496, the work is based mainly on *De Musica* of Boethius. But in an observation on the relative merits of ancient and modern music he voiced an opinion that became a significant belief of many Renaissance humanists, the idea that music in antiquity had an ethical character and objective entirely lacking in current practice, and that the musical achievements of olden times were greatly superior to those of the present. Stapulensis' reputation must have carried considerable weight with musicians, for he is mentioned or quoted by Cochlaeus, Gafurius, Rhaw, Zarlino, Morley, and others.

At the French court Glarean also met musicians, notably Jean Mouton, with whom he conversed [16]. It is likely that he acquired at this time much of the information about Josquin and others which he later set down in the *Dodecachordon.* It is also probable that he was beginning to collect many of the compositions which he included in his treatise. Among these are some works from Aegidius Tschudi's Liederbuch [17], a collection that was

[14] Henricus Glareanus, *Isagoge in Musicen* (Basel, 1516), cap. VII.
[15] *Huldrici Zwingli Opera* (Turici, 1830), vol. 7, August 29, 1517.
[16] *Dodecachordon,* 320.
[17] Ms. 463 in the St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek.

probably begun at this time [18]. Tschudi was a pupil and friend of Glarean, and was with him during the Paris sojourn. The Liederbuch, unfortunately complete only in soprano and alto part books, contains over 200 compositions, mostly by Netherland and French composers. Josquin is represented by 23 pieces, Obrecht by 7, Isaac, Compere, Richafort, and Mouton by 5 each. A few German composers are present, including such little known men as Thomas Tzamen and Adam Luyr, both of whom are found in the *Dodecachordon.*

The collection almost certainly was developed under Glarean's guidance, since individual compositions are assigned modal names according to his system of twelve modes. Adam Luyr's *Juppiter onipotens* must have come to the Liederbuch directly through Glarean, since Luyr gave it to him during his years of study in Cologne [19]. Some twenty-two compositions from Tschudi's Liederbuch can be found in the *Dodecachordon.*

Glarean returned to Basel in 1522 and remained there seven years. Although he was active at the University of Basel, the city was fast becoming an important center of the reformation movement. Glarean's opposition to the new teachings crystallized during this period in spite of his former admiration for Luther's writings and his erstwhile friendship with Zwingli, Myconius, and Oecolampadius. Through the latter's efforts German congregational songs were being introduced in Basel churches in 1526 to take the place of plainsong. This found no favor with Glarean, who wrote a defense of ecclesiastical song in a letter of 1527 which is in the tenor part-book of his own collection of motets [20]. The date of the letter is helpful in establishing the general period at which the motets were assembled. Of the eighteen pieces in the manuscript seven are by Josquin. In the tenor part-book modal names are consistently assigned to each motet, while this occurs only occasionally in the other part-books. The relation between Glarean's collection, Tschudi's Liederbuch, and the *Dodecachordon* is a close one. Glarean's manuscript provides a tenor part for 12 pieces in Tschudi's Liederbuch, and from its 18 motets it contributes 11 musical examples to the *Dodecachordon.*

In 1529 Glarean moved to Freiburg im Breisgau, and conditions there proved to be more congenial. The following years were the most fruitful and decisive for the development of the *Dodecachordon.* At the nearby

[18] A. Geering, "Die Vokalmusik in der Schweiz zur Zeit der Reformation", *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* VI, 92.

[19] *Dodecachordon,* 288.

[20] Mss. 322-325 in the University of Munich library. The scribe was Martin(os) Besard(os). Since the motets are named according to Glarean's twelve mode system it is likely that his modal theory was well developed some years before the Dodecachordon's completion in 1539 or its publication in 1547.

monastery of St. George [21] in the Schwarzwald Glarean found treatises by Boethius, Guido, Berno, Theogerus, and others. He tells us in the preface of the *Dodecachordon* that these manuscripts were a great impetus for him, especially the five books of Boethius [22]. The entire collection must have been outstanding, for it was called an *incomparabilis codex* by Gerbert [23], who edited some of the manuscripts in his *Scriptores . . . de Musica Sacra.*

The codex was in the care of the abbot of the monastery, Johannes Kern, who placed it at Glarean's disposal. Since Kern was active as abbot from 1530 to 1536 [24], it must have been during these years that Glarean's massive tome began to take shape. Indeed, in a letter written in March, 1534, Erasmus told a mutual friend not to expect a letter from Glarean, since he was completely occupied with a matter of the muses [25].

The final stages of the *Dodecachordon* are reflected in a series of letters written to friends. Writing on July 10, 1538, to Johannes Aal of Solothurn, he says:

> My treatise on music is growing. I have added a comparison of *phonasci* and *symphonetae* to the second book. I call a *phonascus* the inventor of a simple melody in some mode, a *symphoneta* the one who adds the remaining voices. Then I have set melodies to the Horatian odes, and have concluded this book with them. Still lacking are some examples, especially of the connection of Aeolian and Hypoaeolian; of such a kind is the *Kyrie de nostra Domina,* which I sent to (Ludwig) Senfl, but he has not answered me. If your organist (Gregory Meyer) could compose something suitable which you approve, I would make use of it . . . [26].

Here is evidence that the first two books were already completed, and that the third book lacked only a few polyphonic musical examples. Glarean

[21] Destroyed by fire in 1768. Cf. Gerbert, *De cantu et Musica sacra,* I, preface.

[22] Glarean edited *De Arithmetica* and *De Musica* as a part of the complete edition published in 1546 by Heinrich Petri, who also published the *Dodecachordon.* Helpful to Glarean in preparing the edition were Sebastian Münster and Othmar Luscinius (d. 1537), as well as the Boethius codex belonging to Boniface Amerbach.

[23] Gerbert, *op. cit.,* preface.

[24] Bucelinus, *Germania, pars* III, 1672, p. 75. Beginning in 1534 Ulrich of Württemberg brought the reformation to monasteries in his territory. Many abbots capitulated, but Kern fled to Villingen under Austrian protection until his monastery was restored.

[25] *Erasmi Epistolae,* ed. by P. S. Allen, X, 367.

[26] E. Tatarinoff, *Die Briefe Glareans an Johannes Aal* (Solothurn, 1895), 8. The Solothurn Stiftspropst Johannes Aal was highly educated, a musician and author of the play Johannes der Taüfer, which included musical interludes. Glarean lauds him in the *Dodecachordon,* 366.

acquired these by sending Gregory Meyer plainsong melodies to be used as a basis for his compositions. The *Kyrie de nostra Domina* [27] had already been used in the *Dodecachordon* as an example of the untransposed Aeolian mode in which the melody encompassed both the authentic and plagal ranges. Glarean was unable to find a polyphonic composition in this mode with the same ambitus, excepting the celebrated *Missae de nostra Domina* by Josquin and Brumel, which however were transposed and also altered in their plagal range. The Kyrie that Meyer wrote is clearly based on Glarean's plainsong version, which has its final on *A*. The monads or canons that he contributed to the Dodecachordon are probably the last works to be included, since they were added in 1540, after Glarean had considered that his treatise was finished [28].

The first occasion on which Glarean calls the *Dodecachordon* complete occurs in a letter to Damian a Goes, dated November 6, 1539 [29]. Here he reveals several reasons why the *Dodecachordon* was not published until eight years later. Although the treatise was completed he could not find a satisfactory typographer, especially for the many musical examples, and rather than giving it to someone incompetent he kept it at home. At the same time the loss of his wife in September of that year caused him to temporarily take a less active interest in securing a publication. Another factor in the delay was the magnitude of the work and the consequently high cost of printing [30]. Glarean also expressed great pleasure at having had the opportunity of extolling Damian's name by including a motet of his in the Dodecachordon [31]. It was not until 1547 that the *magnum opus* appeared in Basel, bearing the imprint of Heinrich Petri [32].

The fact that Glarean's book was not published until 1547, while most of it was completed about ten years earlier, has caused some confusion. Much of this arises from certain statements that Glarean made which were seemingly not in accord with the date of publication.

[27] The Kyrie of Mass IX.

[28] Tatarinoff, *op. cit.*, 20.

[29] Joaquim de Vasconcellos, *Archeologica Artistica* III, (Porto, 1879-97), 35.

[30] In 1545 printers estimated the cost at 900 gold florins. Cf. Tatarinoff, *op. cit.*, 38.

[31] In a poem by Cornelius Graphaeus, Damian is praised as a composer of sacred and secular music whose excellence was such that it might have been composed by Josquin. Cf. Vasconcellos, *op. cit.*, 2. *Ne laeteris,* the motet Glarean refers to, was probably given to him in 1534 when Damian was staying in Freiburg im Breisgau. Cf. *Erasmi Epistolae* X, 251-253.

32 Petri was active as a printer after 1520 and was knighted in 1566 by Charles V. Glarean praised him for reviving the classics, but was very unhappy with the many errors in Petri's printing of his tome on music.

An example is Glarean's mention in the *Dodecachordon* [33] of a trip that he had made to Italy over twenty-two years earlier. This would place the date of the sojourn in 1525, although letters show that his Italian visit was made in 1515. Fritzsche [34] did not realize when Glarean's book had been completed and said that he had erred by ten years. That the error was Fritzsche's and not Glarean's is much less important than the information which the latter's statement produces. Written in Chapter XI of Book II, it indicates that the treatise up to that point was written no later than 1537. It also shows that the dates mentioned in the book are helpful in understanding the chronology of its development.

For this reason the hypothesis [35] that the work arose between 1519-1539 may be open to question. It is based on Glarean's assertion that he worked on his modal theory for twenty years, and the known fact that the treatise was finished before 1540. Glarean did say that he had meditated on the problem of modes for twenty years, at first hesitantly, yet sustained by the hope of an eventual solution. But that statement was made in the prefatory letter to Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Cardinal-Bishop of Augsburg, dated 1547. Since the latter was appointed Bishop in 1543 and Cardinal in 1544, it is possible that Glarean had 1547 in mind as the terminal date, and that the twenty year span began about 1527. At any rate, his statement that he was greatly encouraged in his modal studies by using the codex of the St. George monastery is evidence that the *Dodecachordon* began to take a definitive form no sooner than 1530, while its completion, excepting a few polyphonic compositions, occurred sometime in 1539.

INFLUENCE

The many years Glarean spent in formulating his modal theory resulted in the firm conviction that he had made a genuinely important contribution to musical thought, and therefore he determined to do all in his power to propogate the book. After its publication in 1547 he sent copies to various bishops, abbots, humanist friends, and former pupils. The dedication of the work to Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg is significant since he was one of the most active proponents of reform in church music as well as in social and religious conditions.

As an active and renowned professor at the University of Freiburg, Glarean was able to further his theories in the lectures he gave. A most

[33] P. 91.

[34] Otto Fritzsche, *Glarean, sein Leben und seine Schriften,* (Frauenfeld, 1890), 17.

[35] Albrecht, *op. cit.,* col. 218.

successful lecturer, he was given permission in 1545 to read poetry in the university hall because of the crowd of listeners [36]. Among other poets he lectured on Horace and sang his odes, probably using the melodies he includes in the *Dodecachordon*. He also gave lectures on the modes in his home, and tells us that at times the number of auditors was so great his house could not hold them [37].

One of the first significant musical results of Glarean's modal theories was Homer Herpol's motet collection *Novum et insigne opus musicum,* published in Nürnberg in 1565. Herpol, a pupil of Glarean, was highly thought of by the theorist, who included a composition by Herpol in his *Auss Glareani Musick* of 1559. The motets, dedicated to Otto von Waldburg and Egenolf von Knöringen [38], are the first complete Latin settings of the Gospels arranged according to the calendar of the ecclesiastical year. The collection is divided into four dodecades which include pieces in all twelve of Glarean's modes. In addition there are six other motets written in only the more common modes, making a total of 54 pieces. Each motet is identified by mode name and number, and the style of pervading imitation and motivic reiteration shows that the composer followed closely the techniques of the Netherland school.

Another follower of Glarean's modal teaching was Eucharius Hoffmann, the Stralsund cantor, who contributed musical compositions as well as a theory book. His *24 Cantiones 4, 5, et 6v. acommodatae ad 12 tonos* appeared in Wittenberg in 1577 and, as the title implies, follows Glarean's principles. Five years before he had brought out the *Musicae Practicae praecepta,* based on Sebald Heyden and Heinrich Faber [39]. It contained motets and Mass sections and, despite its date, still gave Josquin first place among composers; likewise the system of eight modes was advocated. But in 1582 he wrote the *Doctrina de tonis seu modis musicis,* also based on Glarean's teachings.

This treatise is an important source for the modal section of the *Opusculum Bipartitum* of Joachim Thuringus [40], printed in 1625. Thuringus believed that a detailed study of the modes was essential to musical understanding, and devoted twenty-four chapters to the subject. In com-

[36] Fritzsche, *op cit.,* 56.

[37] *Briefe Glareans an Aegidius Tschudi,* ed. by E. Müller, XXVII Jahrgang, 1934-35, No. 25.

[38] Egenolf von Knöringen, later Cardinal and Bishop of Augsburg, was a good friend of Glarean, who shortly before his death sold his library to the Bishop.

[39] Martin Ruhnke, "Eucharius Hoffmann", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* VI, col. 539.

[40] Fritz Feldmann, "Das Opusculum bipartitum des Joachim Thuringus (1625)", in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XV, 1958, 127.

mon with Peter Eichmann [41] and Johannes Nucius [42] he follows Glarean's practice of assigning affective qualities to the modes. Of course this custom was very old in relation to the eight church modes, but since Glarean was the first to include the Aeolian and Ionian modes and their plagals in an enlarged modal system, he was also the first to give them characteristic names which could be applied through current usage [43]. The Hypoionian, for example, he cites as being suitable for frivolities as well as for lamenting [44]. Eichmann and Thuringus agree on the latter meaning as proper for the mode, while Nucius adheres to the former. The significant fact is not that the theorists disagree in terminology, but that they considered the *Dodecachordon* the authoritative source for modal qualities as well as for a new conception of the modal system.

The fact that the *Dodecachordon* produced widespread repercussions among the theorists of the post-Glarean period is very evident from the many theory books of that time which discuss it in detail or at least certain aspects of it. Among these are some of the most renowned treatises of the century. They are naturally not all in accord- some look favorably on Glarean's theories, some are violently opposed to them, while others are either noncomittal or vacillating.

One of the foremost theorists to begin as an advocate of Glarean's principles was Gioseffo Zarlino. In 1558, only eleven years after the publication of the *Dodecachordon,* Zarlino's *Istitutioni harmoniche* appeared, containing a clear presentation of Glarean's twelve mode system, but without naming Glarean as its author. While the 1562 edition is unchanged [45], subsequent editions as well as the *Dimostrationi harmoniche* of 1571 retain the twelve modes but with a different order of mode name and number. Keeping the original authentic-plagal pattern, Zarlino begins with the Ionian on C as Mode I, the Dorian on D as Mode III, and proceeds in this manner to the Aeolian on A as Mode XI. By giving such prominence to the Ionian mode Zarlino recognizes the ever increasing importance of the major mode. In actuality the renumbering of the modes is much less significant than the change which would have occurred if the mode names had been altered in relation to their finals, as was done by Charles Guillet in his *Vingt-quatre Fantasies* [46]. That Glarean was fully

[41] *Praecepta Musicae Practicae,* Stettin, 1604.

[42] *Musicae Poeticae,* Neisse, 1613.

[43] My reference is to the affective modal terminology which Glarean used as a result of his practical experience with plainsong and polyphony, not to the nomenclature found in the writings of antiquity, which may or may not agree with Glarean.

[44] *Dodecachordon,* 137. [45] See Lib. IV, cap. 10, p. 310.

[46] The paired mode arrangement is: C-Dorian, D-Phrygian, E-Lydian, F-Mixolydian, G-Ionian, A-Aeolian. While the pitch pattern of the pieces follow Zarlino, the order of modes resembles that of Glarean, although only the Aeolian mode has the same final. Cf. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New-York, 1954), 561f.

cognizant of the worth of the Ionian is shown in his well-known remark that it was the *omnium Modorum usitatissimus* [47].

An excellent summary of Glarean's modal system can be found in Thomas Morley's *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke.* Although there may be some question concerning the importance which Morley attached to the modes [48], there is no doubt that he had thoroughly studied the contents of the *Dodecachordon.* Glarean was convinced that modes arose from different octave-species, and in his systematic presentation of modal examples he begins not with the Dorian Mode I but with the A octave-species, which contains the Hypodorian and Aeolian modes. Morley follows the same procedure in his summary, concluding it with remarks on the compass of modes and the connection of modes, all of which is based on Glarean. He also uses other material from the *Dodecachordon,* including musical examples and statements on mensural theories. Other theorists of the time who acknowledged Glarean's contribution include Cerone [49] and Zacconi [50], although the latter was the more enthusiastic, devoting thirty-seven chapters in the fourth book to the twelve modes.

From a musical point of view the most fruitful results of Glarean's modal principles are probably to be found in the many instrumental compositions of late Renaissance composers. In the title of certain pieces it was customary to indicate the number of the mode on which a composition was based. Following the widespread dissemination of Glarean's doctrine numerous examples can be found which incorporate the twelve modes or rather tones, as they were almost invariably named. Canzoni, ricercari, toccate, and fantasie were typically treated in this manner by many composers, including Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Merulo, and Padovana. Andrea Gabrieli's *Ricercare del XII tono* [51], for example, has a clear-cut feeling of the C major mode; its designation as Hypoionian rather than Ionian is due to the tenor, which is confined primarily to the plagal range. The *Ricercare del X tono* by Giovanni Gabrieli [52] is a four-voice piece in which the principle theme enters with successive imitations on the tonic and dominant of the Aeolian mode; the tenor again determines that the mode is *X tono* rather than *IX tono.*

[47] *Dodecachordon,* 115.

[48] Robert Stevenson, "Thomas Morley's 'Plaine and Easie' Introduction to the Modes", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. VI, Fasc. 4, 1952, 182.

[49] *El Melopeo* (Naples, 1613), II, XXXVI.

[50] *Prattica di musica* (Venice, 1619).

[51] *Historical Anthology of Music,* ed. by Davison and Apel (Cambridge, 1947), No. 136.

[52] G. Tagliapietra, *Anthologia di Musica Antica e Moderna per Pianoforte* (Milan, 1931), II, 76.

Glarean devoted much care to the consideration of the connection of modes, that is, modes whose melodies had an ambitus which included both the plagal and authentic forms. He always identified the musical example by calling it a connection of an authentic mode and its plagal, such as Dorian and Hypodorian. An echo of this can be seen in Giovanni Gabrieli's *Ricercare del VII e VIII tono* [53], which is so named because the range of the tenor melody encompasses both the authentic and plagal forms of the Mixolydian mode. Another principle of Glarean's theory, that modes are transposed when a B flat is consistently used, is shown in several pieces by Merulo. The *Toccata del II tono* [54], based on G with a B flat signature, is a transposed Hypodorian, while the *Ricercare del XII tono* [55], having the same signature and based on F, is a transposed Hypoionian. From these examples it seems clear that there were many composers as well as theorists who understood and accepted the new modal doctrine.

Although Glarean's modal theory is undoubtedly the major contribution of the *Dodecachordon* to Renaissance musical thought, the true value of the book lies in the very quality of versatility which has enabled so many writers to make such contrasting statements about it. As a source book of musical biography [56] and critical analyses of polyphonic compositions it is an acknowledged standard-bearer. As a record of the polyphonic music of Josquin's age and its intricate mensural practices, it has been of notable value for historians of every age. The thought-provoking discussions of ancient music, especially the manner of setting Horatian odes, may well have been a considerable influence on later poets and musicians [57]. In its fusion of ancient conceptions and contemporary practice it presents a humanistic synthesis of enduring worth. Above all, it is a completely human document.

[53] *Ibid.*, II, 90.

[54] *Ibid.*, II, 11.

[55] *Ibid.*, II, 17.

[56] Ambros, *op cit.*, III, 158, calls Glarean the founder of musical biography.

[57] A link between Glarean and the Pléiade is the poet and philosopher Pontus de Tyard, who wrote a musical treatise which discusses the effects of music and which includes a treatment of modes based on Glarean's system. Cf. Nan Cooke Cerpenter, *Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities* (Norman, 1958), 151. It is also likely that Glarean was an influence on Baif and his composers. Cf. D. P. Walker, "Some Aspects and Problems of Musique Mesurée à l'Antique", *Musica Disciplina,* Vol. IV, 1950, 175.

ARCHIMVSICI

THEORICI ET PRACTICI,

LT NOVAE HARMONIAE INVENTORIS.

NICOLAE VICENTINI,

MOTETA CVM QVINQVE VOCIBVS.

LIBER QVARTVS.

MEDIOLANI.
Apud Paulum Gottardum Pontium. 1571.

NICOLAS VICENTINVS ARCHIMVSICVS
Illustri Comiti Ludouico Galerato. S. P. D.

QVI munere aliquo virum quempiam donare instituit, diligenter animaduertat oportet quam is profiteatur facultatem, quidq; illi oblectamento, & in delicijs sit; vt donum quod hominis voto respondeat, illi idonee elargiri possit; vt arma militi; libros studioso, & literarum candidato viro: alioquin oleum & operam (quod aiunt) perditum iret: siquis enim Annibali Carthaginiensium duci philosophorũ scripta & monumenta, Aristoteli clypeos, & cassides dono dedisset, tantum abest vt cum ijs inijsset gratiam, eisq; cordi fuisset, vt etiam eorum & offendisset, & alienasset a se animos. Ego quoq; qui pignore aliquo testari studeo meam erga te beneuolentiam, & obseruantiã, rhythmos nostros dicare constitui tibi, ita rhythmorum cupido & studioso, vt ex cœlesti constare rhythmo, & harmonia appareas; in spem adductus fore, vt nostrum munus tibi iucunditati sit, quod si (vt spero) non ingratum fuisse animo tuo sensero, erit id mihi gratissimum; hinc enim perspiciam probari tibi lucubrationes nostras, meq; a te diligi, quorum utrunq; nobis optatissimum, iucundissimumq; accidet. Vale.

THE MOTETS OF NICOLA VICENTINO[1]

HENRY W. KAUFMANN

With the discovery of the *quintus* part of a fourth book of motets by Vincentino published in 1571 [2], the activity of this unusual musician extends from the narrower sphere of madrigal composition into the larger and more universal aspects of sixteenth-century creativity. Unfortunately, most of these motets exist only in an incomplete form, but even in their truncated state, these compositions reveal an imaginative approach to the problems of setting sacred music.

Our first direct knowledge of Vincentino as a motet composer is derived from his treatise, *L'antica musica,* published in 1555 [3]. In this work, however, the motets serve primarily a didactic purpose. Don Nicola, for example, added to his theoretical observations on the chromatic and enharmonic modes some practical examples of compositions written in these two genera. The first of these was the completely chromatic [4] "Motettino" based on the words of the Easter Gradual, "Haec dies" [5]. This work was written not only to demonstrate the chromatic gender, but also

[1] The collected works of Nicola Vicentino, edited by the present author, are in preparation for publication as the 26th title in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae.*

[2] The author is greatly indebted to Dr. Colin Slim of the University of Chicago for his discovery of this part-book in the archives of the *Duomo* at Piacenza, Italy in February, 1957.

[3] The treatise according to the colophon: fol. [BB8], was published on May 22, 1555. In a letter to the Duke of Mantua on December 15 of the same year, Vicentino mentions a seven-part motet among the works that he had sent to the Mantuan court. No trace of this motet has been found. A copy of this letter (Archivio di stato, Mantova, B. 1252 [Carteggio degli inviati e diversi, 1540-1557]) was sent to the author by Dr. Knud Jeppesen whose help is herewith gratefully acknowledged. The document is also cited by Pietro Canal, "Della musica in Mantova", *Memorie del reale istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti,* XXI (1879), 731, and by Fr. X. Haberl, "Das Archiv der Gonzaga in Mantua, mit besonderen Rücksicht auf Giov. Pierluigi da Palestrina", *Kirchenmusicalisches Jahrbuch,* 1886, p. 33.

[4] Vicentino himself, however, admits that he has included in this piece "gradi lunghi dell'Enarmonico", that is, major thirds, in several places, "fatti per incitatione delle parole", which the singer may modify by the use of a flat. Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica music ridotta alla moderna prattica . . .* (Rome: Antonio Barre, 1555), fol. 62.

[5] *Ibid.,* foll. 62-62v. A transcription of this work can be found in Luigi Torchi, *L'Arte musicale in Italia* (Milan: G. Ricordi, [1897-1908?]), I. 147-148.

"so that every one may see that the chromatic music can be sung in the churches in a loud voice" [6].

This rather curious remark seems to indicate that the chromatic music was not normally used for ecclesiastical compositions but was associated rather with the genres of chamber music which involved quieter dynamics. This is borne out further by his observation that the dieses of the enharmonic "are sung in the chamber, with a low voice because they are most suave" [7]. It would appear that the more subtle the intonation, the quieter a piece should be sung to assure accuracy. For this reason, choral performance of chromatic compositions may have seemed more difficult than diatonic ones. However, with the extension of tonal resources by Vicentino to include the extremely small divisions of the enharmonic, the chromatic must have seemed relatively simple and hence suitable for sacred works.

There were apparently some musicians who, although they might have accepted the chromatic gender in this four-part composition, doubted that it could normally be written in a piece for four or five parts:

> Perhaps some remain doubtful of the genera, whether in compositions one can demonstrate them accompanied in four, five and more voices. The disciple must realize that one can compose [in] all the genera, and when the composition will consist of more than four voices, that will give more convenience to the composer . . . [8]

To allay these fears, Vicentino included in his treatise a portion of one of his five-voiced Lamentations, entitled "Hierusalem" [9].

Finally, to demonstrate the possibility of using each of the genera in turn within the same composition, Vicentino composed a Latin ode, "Musica prisca caput" in honor of his patron, Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, the first verse of which was written entirely in the diatonic genus, the second in the chromatic, and the third in the enharmonic, with the diesis

[6] ". . . accio che ogniuno vegga che la musica Cromatica si può ca[n]tare nelle chiese ad alta voce . . ." Vicentino, *op. cit.,* fol. 61v.

[7] ". . . si canteranno nelle camere, & con bassa voce, perche sono suavissimi . . ." *Ibid.,* fol. 65v.

[8] "Forse alcuni staranno dubbiosi de i Generi, sè nelle compositioni si possono dimostrare accompagnati à quattro, à cinque, & à piu voce. il Discepolo hà da sapere che tutti i Generi si possono comporre, & quando la compositione sarà à piu di quattro voci, quelle darà piu commodità al Co[m]positore . . ." *Ibid.,* fol. 70v.

[9] A transcription of this work can be found in Torchi, *op. cit.,* I, 145-146. The text forms part of the Lamentations of Jeremiah which serve as the lessons for Matins of Maunday, Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. Cf. *The Liber Usualis,* ed. Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1938) pp. 628, 670, 716. No other of these five-part compositions of Vicentino is now extant.

represented by dots over the affected notes [10]. This ode belongs, in a sense, to that series of musical compositions to Latin texts which, beginning with the setting of Virgil's "Dulces exuviae . . ." by Josquin and including the famous "Quidnam [Quid non] ebrietas" of Adrian Willaert, concentrated on featuring a wide variety of experimental techniques of a most advanced nature. Vicentino summarized, in this single composition, the essence of his theoretical innovations.

Of the motets intended for practical rather than didactic purposes, the six-voiced "Heu mihi domine" is of especial importance because it is the only extant version of a sacred work by Vicentino in a chromatic idiom that exists in a complete form. The manuscript of this motet was added, in an unknown hand, after the final pages of the six part-books of Orlando di Lasso's *Magnificat octo tonorum* . . . (Nuremberg: Theodor Gerlatz, 1567) now in the University Library at Wrocław, Poland [11]. If the date of the Lasso publication can be used as a guide, this is precisely the time when Vicentino was being encouraged by Cardinal Borromeo to write religious works in a chromatic form [12]. The copyist was well aware of Don Nicola's reputation since the *bassus* part of this motet is documented with the legend: "Nicolaus Vicentinus, perfectae Musicae divisionisque inventor".

The text of this composition corresponds to the two parts of the responsory following the second lesson of the second Nocturn of Matins from the Office for the Dead, but the music does not incorporate any identifiable chant. The overall form agrees with the responsorial structure aBcB that became increasingly prominent in polyphonic music after c. 1520. In keeping with the solemnity of the occasion for which this composition was intended, the scoring emphasizes the use of voices of low pitch and was probably sung by men alone, since the clef-indications call for one mezzo-soprano, two altos, two baritones, and one sub-bass [13].

The writing is predominantly chordal, exploiting the expressive qualities

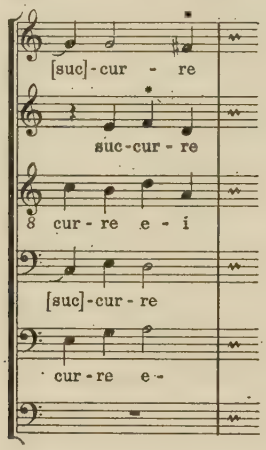
[10] This ode appears in Vicentino, *op cit.*, foll. 69v-70v. For a transcription of this work, see the Appendix to this article.

[11] Friedrich Kuhn, "Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der alten Musikalien — Handschriften und Druckwerke — des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Brieg", *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte,* Supplement to XXIX (1897), 26, gives a detailed description of the part-books and the handwritten additions thereto. Other composers represented in this manuscript include Lassus, Clemens non Papa, Jacobus Vaet and Sweelinck.

[12] Cf. Lewis H. Lockwood, "Vincenzo Ruffo and Musical Reform after the Council of Trent", *The Musical Quarterly,* XLIII (1957), 349-350.

[13] This clef combination resembles the one used by Josquin in his "De profundis" which, according to Glareanus, indicated that the low register was to be interpreted literally, with no implied transposition. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1954), p. 249. For the relationship of this scoring to Vicentino's concept of *mutata voce* see *infra,* p. 180.

of the rich harmonic sonorities of the lower voices. Both melodic and harmonic dissonances occur. Cross-relations appear occasionally, especially when successive chords stand in the relationship of a third to one another. A strikingly dissonant treatment of this kind is effected even within the same harmony by moving, for instance, the minor third, f, of a d-minor chord to its root in the first alto part while at the same time a suspended fourth in the mezzo-soprano part resolves to the major form of the third, f-sharp (measure 106):



The second *pars* of this motet, beginning with the words "Anima mea turbata est" is treated in a more imitative fashion, but returns shortly to the predominant harmonic type of writing. At the repetition of the B section, the voice-leading brings about an interchange of the two baritone parts. Otherwise the notes in both sections are exactly the same.

The remainder of Vicentino's motets are available only in an incomplete form. Of these works, the most important is a collection of motets, the *quintus*-part of which was discovered among the holdings of the cathedral library at Piacenza, Italy[14]. This book was published under the following title:

> Quintus. [within an ornamental frame supported by winged *putti* at either end] /[15] Archimusici/theorici et practici./ et novae harmoniae inventoris./ Nicolae Vicentini./ Moteta (sic!) cum quinque vocibus./ Liber quartus./ Mediolani./ Apud Paulum Gottardum Pontium, 1571.

[14] The author is indebted to the Rev. Guido Tammi of the Piacenza Cathedral staff for his aid in obtaining a microfilm copy of this work.

[15] This ornamental frame is identical with the one on the title-page of Vicentino's fifth book of madrigals, published by Pontio in 1572.

TABLE I

Number	Title	Liturgical Association	Page	Signature
Ia	Benedictus Deus[a]	In festo unius martyris	3	[A2] recto
b	Quoniam	pontificis . . . Epistle[b]	4	[A2] verso
II	Oliva fructifera	De praesentatione B.M.V. . . . Hymn at Nones[c]	5	[A3] r
III	Iocunda est praesens vita	Dominica in Quinquagesima . . . Ingressa[d]	6	[A3] v
IVa	Virtus summa coelestium	De ss. nomine Jesu . . . Hymn at Compline[e]	7	[A4] r
b	Summi tonatis dextera		8	[A4] v
V	In nomine Jesu	Feria IV Maioris Hebdomedae . . . Introit[f]	9	B r
VIa	Succensus amor cordibus	De ss. nomine Jesu . . . Hymn at Compline[g]	10	B v
b	Ad te ergo confugimus		10	B v
VIIa	Egredimini et videte	In conceptione virginis Marie . . . Introit[i]	11	B2 r
b	Ostendat faciem[h]		12	B2 v
VIIIa	Vidi immaculatam	Infra octavae conceptionis	13	[B3] r
b	Nihil est candoris	Marie . . . Chapter and Antiphon in second Vespers[j]	14	[B3] v
IX	Ave regina coelorum	Antiphona beatae Mariae virginis . . . Compline	15	[B4] r
X	O virgo benedicta	Officium immaculate conceptionis virginis marie . . . Lesson iv, second Nocturn of Matins[k]	16	[B4] v
XI	O magne admirationis gratia	Vigilia nativitatis domini . . . from a homily following the third lesson of the first Nocturn of Matins[l]	17	C r
XII	Ave virginum gemma Catherina[m]	In sancte Katerine virginis et martiris . . . Communion[n]	18	C v
XIII	Parce mihi domine	Officium pro defunctis . . . Lesson i, first Nocturn of Matins	19-20	C2 r . . . C2 v
XIV	Spiritus meus attenuabitur	Officium pro defunctis . . . Lesson vii, third Nocturn of Matins	20-21	C2 v . . . [C3] r

Number	Title	Liturgical Association	Page	Signature
XVa	Peccantem me quotidie	Officium pro defunctis . . . Responsory and Versicle	22	[C3 v]
b	Deus in nomine tuo	following Lesson vii, third Nocturn of Matins	23	[C4 r]

[a] The *cantus, altus, quintus* and *bassus* parts of this motet appear in a published collection of motets by various authors (including Willaert and Cipriano de Rore) in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Mus. No. C. 313.

[b] Robert Lippe (ed.), *Missale Romanum Mediolani, 1474* ("Henry Bradshaw Society" XVII, XXXIII; London, 1899-1907), I, 412-413. This work is a reprint of the first printed edition of the Roman Missal published in Milan in 1474 and is based on a copy now in the Ambrosian Library. The text of this motet is also used as the Epistle for the feast of Saint James the Apostle. *Ibid.*, I, 356.

[c] Guido Maria Dreves (ed.), *Historiae Rhythmicae. Liturgische Reimofficien des Mittelalters. Erste Folge* ("Analecta hymnica medii aevi" V; [Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland), 1899]), p. 66. See also Bruno Stäblein, *Hymnen (I) Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes* ("Monumenta monodica medii aevi"; [Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1956-]), Vol. I, p. 679, col. 2.

[d] *Antiphonale missarum juxta ritum sanctae ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Rome: Desclée, 1935), p. 99.

[e] Guido Maria Dreves (ed.), *Hymni inediti. Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters aus handschriftlichen Breviarien, Antiphonalien und Processionalien* ("Analecta hymnica . . ." IV; [Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland), 1888]), number 7, stanzas 1 and 2, p. 16.

[f] Lippe, op. cit., I, 149. The second volume of the Lippe edition, subtitled *A Collation with other editions printed before 1570,* indicates that this text also appears as an *Officium* in a 1508 Missal and an *Introitus* in a 1558 Missal for the *Missa de nomine Jesus Christi. Ibid.,* II, 334. This feast appears mainly in Roman Missals printed in Venice during the sixteenth-century. See also *infra,* p. 7.

[g] Dreves, *Hymni inediti . . .,* number 7, stanzas 6 and 8, p. 16. This is a continuation of the same hymn used in Motet IV a and b. See note e *supra.*

[h] This portion of the motet is described as the second *pars* in the *tabula* but not in the body of the work.

[i] Lippe, *op. cit.* II, 165. This text was also found in French Missals printed at Paris in 1530 and 1540.

[j] *Breviarum Romanu[m] . . .* (Venice: Lucantonio de Giunta Florentinis, 1519), fol. 428v.

[k] *Ibid.,* fol. 426. This text is the beginning of a homily attributed to St. Hilary.

[l] J. Wickham Legg (ed.), *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary . . .* ("Henry Bradshaw Society" XXXV, XLII; [London: 1908-1912]), I, 365. The text of the motet is excerpted from the middle of the homily.

[m] The same text appears in a setting by Bulkin in Petrucci's *Motetti Libro quarto* (1505). Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia delle opere stampata da Ottaviano Petrucci* ("Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana", XVIII; [Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1948]), p. 99. A concordance to this *quintus* part appears in Valladolid, MS 17, fol. 115v. This manuscript contains works by French, Spanish, Italian and Netherlandish composers from the second half of the sixteenth century. Higinio Angles, "El archivo musical de la catedral de Valladolid", *Anuario musical,* III (1948), 85.

[n] Lippe, *op. cit.,* I, 402.

The collection was dedicated to Count Lodovico Galerato, a nobleman of the city of Galerato which lay within the Duchy of Milan [16].

The format of this edition is that of a quarto, with the following collation: A-C^4. Beginning with the second leaf, pagination is indicated in Roman numerals, running consecutively from three to twenty-three, with a table of contents or *tabula* on the unnumbered last page. The fifteen compositions which form this collection are here arranged in tabular form for convenience of reference (see page 173).

Although the publication date of these motets falls after the Pian liturgical reforms of 1570, most of the texts are actually of pre-Tridentine origin. Their subsequent omission from the liturgy was conditioned mainly by the zeal of the Roman Catholic church during the sixteenth century in countering the inroads of the Protestant Reformation. Texts such as the "Ave virginum gemma Catherina", the Communion from the Mass of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (Motet XIII) were especially difficult to defend since they were based almost entirely on legendary events. Catherine, of royal Alexandrian blood, in a dispute with the learned pagan doctors of her native city, was supposed to have converted them to Christianity and eventually to have followed them in martyrdom for their faith [17]. These wholly undocumented events, which formed the substance of the services venerating the Saint, were replaced after 1570 by texts of a more intercessory nature [18].

[16] Article, "Galerato", *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* . . . (Leipzig & Halle: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1732-1750), Vol. X, p. 114, col. 2. Count Galerato was undoubtedly a patron of the arts since, in addition to this work, the first book of four-voiced madrigals (1564) by the Milanese organist, Gioseppe Caimo, is also dedicated to him. Emil Vogel, *Bibliothek der gedruckten weltlichen Vokalmusik Italiens aus den Jahren 1500-1700* (Berlin: A Hauk, 1892), I, 131.

[17] Antoine Perini, Francois Zanotto, Louis de Mas Latrie, *Facsimile des miniatures contenues dans le Bréviaire Grimani conservé à la Bibliotêque de S. Marc* (Venice: Ferd. Ongania, 1880), I 287. See also the miniatures by Memling in the Grimani Breviary dealing with these events in her life. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, plates 106 and 107.

[18] A similar viewpoint probably conditioned the revision in 1548 of the Breviary of the Humiliati. The majority of the changes were concerned with the reestablishment of the recitation of all 150 psalms in regular order . . . a practice which had been interfered with because of the proliferation of festivals and the resultant necessity for "proper" psalms rather than the regular ones. In order to achieve their desired goals, the reformers omitted many of the feasts, especially those based on legendary events in the lives of Saints — the least defensible parts of the medieval Breviary. J. Wickham Legg, "The Divine Service in the Sixteenth Century Illustrated by the Reform of the Breviary of the Humiliati in 1548", *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society,* II (1886), 275-276. Many of the Roman Breviaries and Missals were reevaluated and reorganized in the light of Catholic self-examination and possible Protestant criticism, since new and revised versions appeared throughout the *Cinque-*

Although only six of the motet-texts are still in current usage [19], it is significant to note that many of the others are associated with feasts which became increasingly important in Roman Catholic theology after the Council of Trent. The origin of the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (Motets IV and VI) goes back only to the early sixteenth century when it was celebrated by priests of the Franciscan Order [20]. The "In nomine Jesu" (Motet V) also appears as the Introit of this feast in Roman Missals printed in Venice during the *Cinquecento* [21], and is used with this function in the present-day liturgy [22]. In the *Missale Romanum Mediolani* of 1574, however, this text is given as the Introit for Wednesday in Holy Week [23] and is designated as the stational Mass at the church of St. Mary Major ("Statio ad sanctam Mariam maiorem") [24].

Mariology is, of course, more closely associated with the Roman Obedience than with any other form of Christianity. Specific Marian associations are revealed in Motet II, for the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (November 21), Motet IX, one of the four Marian Antiphons, and especially Motets VII, VIII and X, in connection with the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 8).

The use of a text from the feast of our Lady's Presentation in the Temple seems to indicate that some of the motets in this collection were

cento, both with and without ecclesiastical approval. One of the most successful was the reformed Breviary proposed by the Spanish Cardinal Quignon, which seems to have been the source for many of the motet texts. The first edition, though not approved, went through eleven printings. The second recension, first sanctioned in 1536, appeared in over 100 editions before it was abolished in 1568 by a bull of Pope Pius V, in preparation for his own reforms. Legg, ... *Quignon Breviary* ..., I [v].

[19] Motet III (in the Ambrosian rite only), V, IX, and XIII-XV (from the Office for the Dead).

[20] Gaspar Lefebure, *Saint Andrew Daily Missal* (St. Paul, Minnesota: E. M. Lohmann, [1957]), p. [107]. This feast was adopted universally for the whole church by Pope Innocent XIII in 1721 and its present date — the Sunday occurring between January first and sixth, otherwise on January second — was fixed only in the twentieth century. *Ibid.*

[21] See *supra,* Table I, note f.

[22] *The Liber Usualis,* p. 446.

[23] In present Roman usage, the introit for this feast uses only the first part of the text (through "et infernorum") with the substitution of "Domini" for "Jesus", but continues with different words of a penitential character. *Ibid.,* p. 612.

[24] The Roman Missals associate many of the Masses of great feasts or privileged ferias with a "station" in some church of Rome, In the Middle Ages, "making the station" involved the procession of the faithful, singing the Litany or psalms, to the designated church where the Pope or his legate would meet them to celebrate the Mass. The stational procession and Mass has recently been restored at Rome, especially in Lent, but obligatory Papal attendance has been relinquished. Lefebure, *op. cit.,* p. XXVI.

probably composed a year or more before their actual publication, since this particular festival, because it was based only on a pious belief and not a point of fact, was suppressed in 1570 during the Pontificate of Pius V (1566-1572) and not re-introduced into the Roman calendar until 1585, upon the accession of Sixtus V to the Papal throne [25].

Pius X in 1570 also instituted a new Office for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception [26], but the texts used by Vicentino are derived from earlier sources and give further evidence of the lag between the composition and publication dates of his motets. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception was not defined until 1854 [27], but theological controversy about this feast dates back to the Middle Ages, and rose to prominence during the Renaissance. In 1476, Sixtus IV decreed that the feast be adopted for the entire Latin church [28] and approved an Office of the Immaculate Conception written by the apostolic protonotary [29] Leonard Nogarol which was added at the end of many sixteenth-century editions of the Roman breviary before the Pian Reform [30]. It is on this Office that the Vicentino texts are based [31].

One of the peculiarities of these motets is the occasional setting of chapters, lessons and homilies not usually associated with the musical treatment of the liturgy (Motets VIIIa, X, XI, XIII, XIV). Polyphonic versions of these passages do, however, occur, albeit infrequently, throughout the *Cinquecento* [32]. It is not at all clear, however, whether they were intended to be sung at the actual service or at some form of semi-private

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 1636.

[26] T. Lataste, article "Pius V, Saint, Pope (Michele Ghislieri)", *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* XII (1911), p. 130, col. 1.

[27] Lefebure, *op cit.,* p. 1125.

[28] Frederick C. Holweck, article "Immaculate Conception", *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* VII (1910), p. 680, col. 1. The decree of Sixtus IV about this feast did not meet with universal approval. The question was, in fact, referred to the Council of Trent in 1546, which considered it at its fifth session "De peccato originali" but reached no decision. Nevertheless, a new and simplified Office for this festival was incorporated in the Pian Reforms of 1570 and served until the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was declared *de fide* in the nineteenth century. *Ibid.*

[29] He is so described in the Breviarum Romanum of 1519 (see *supra* Table I, note f) where his Office is added in an appendix beginning after the colophon on fol. 416.

[30] Legg, ... *Quignon Breviary* ..., II, 266.

[31] Vicentino's selection of these texts may have been influenced by the knowledge that Nogarola was a humanist of Vicentine origin. *Dizionario enciclopedico italiano,* VIII (1956), p. 378, col. 3.

[32] Hermann Zenck comments on the fact that the texts of Willaert's motets contain not only antiphons, responsories, hymns, and sequences, but also epistles, lessons or parts of lessons. Hermann Zenck (ed.), *Adriani Willaert opera omnia* ("Corpus mensurabilis musicae"; Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1950...), Vol. 1: *Motetta IV vocum. Liber primus 1539 et 1545,* p. ix.

devotional exercises, although some were definitely assigned to special occasions. For example, the heading which precedes the first of the motets from the Office for the Dead (Motet XIII) reads: "On the death of the illustrious Blanca Pansana de Carcano of Milan" [33] ("In obitu Illustris Blancae Pansanae de Carcano Mediolanensis"). Since the word "obitus" may also indicate the ecclesiastical service on the anniversary of a death [34], and the date of Blanca Carcano's demise is unknown, the specific purpose for which this motet was intended cannot be ascertained.

From the musical viewpoint, this collection is written in a style that is basically chromatic, although the first motet, which also exists in a fairly complete form [35], is more reserved in this respect than some of the other compositions [36]. Nonetheless, the writing in this first motet is free enough to produce an occasional cross-relation. Many of the other motets not only imply a more adventurous harmony [37], but also indulge in melodic chromaticism of an advanced nature. Semitonal movement on the same scale degree, for instance, occurs with some frequency, especially on affective words. In "Iocunda est praesens vita" (Motet III) this half-step motion is found on the word "miserere" (measure 50) and in "Spiritus meus attenuabitur" (Motet XIV) on the similar expression "Miserere mei Deus" (measure 94).

In two passages, the invocation of the name of Jesus is handled in like manner. The second part of "Virtus summa coelestium" (Motet IV) uses the chromatic semitone in connection with the words "O Jesus, powerful name" ("Jesu, Jesu, potenti nomine"). An even more rhetorical approach is found in Motet V "In nomine Jesu", in which the phrase "[and let every tongue confess] that our Lord Jesus Christ [is in the glory of God the Father]" ("[et omnis lingua confiteatur] quia dominus noster Jesus Christus [in gloria est Dei patris]") is outlined by a diminished triad, f sharp-a-c, on the words "quia dominus noster", and the Lord's name invoked by rising a half-step to c sharp and continuing with notes of much longer value for added emphasis (measures 35-40):

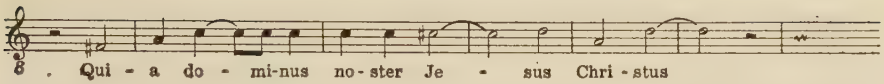
[33] Blanca Pansana de Carcano was the wife of the Milanese physician and humanist, Archileus Carcano, who was renowned as a patron of music and the arts. Filippo Argelati, *Biblioteca scriptorum Mediolanensium* ... (Milan: in sedibus palatinis, 1745), pp. 290, 408.

[34] J. H. Baxter and Charles Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List* (London: Oxford University Press, [1934]), p. [282].

[35] *supra,* Table I, note a.

[36] In general, greater freedom seems to be associated with the settings of Office texts than those of the Mass.

[37] See, for instance, Motet III, especially the *secunda pars* and, above all, the last three motets from the Office for the Dead.



This is in keeping with the observation in the treatise that "in motets, according to the devout words, coming somewhat to a stop induces a great deal of devotion" [38].

From time to time, "avoided" cadences [39] can be found, but not so frequently as in Vicentino's madrigals. Even when the cadence is normal, it may be harmonized deceptively (Motet I, measures 38-39). Harmony, in general, seems to be the germinal factor, since the leaps and turns of the rather awkward lines of this *quintus*-part seem to result from a chordal rather than a polyphonic concept. The more complete setting of the first motet will serve to confirm this viewpoint.

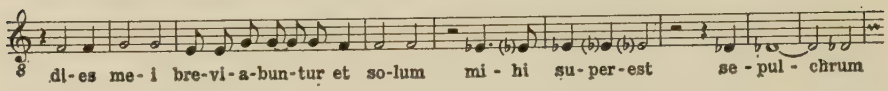
Musical pictorialism also plays a significant role in these works. See, for instance, the precipitous scale-wise ascent of an octave on the word "coelo" (Motet VIII, measure 16-17), and the roulade on "gloriosa", in the second part of the same motet (measure 71) involving the use of *fusae*. A rather interesting example of word-painting with striking harmonic implications occurs in "Spiritus meus" (Motet XIV). The part begins on a g sharp, and after a depicition of the phrase "my days are short" ("dies mei breviabuntur") by the simple device of following two semibreves by a series of short semiminims (measures 6-8), the melodic line descends to

[38] "...ne Motetti, secondo le parole divote, il star alquanto fermo, induce divotione assai..." Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 81.

[39] The term "cadence", to modern ears, has a definite harmonic connotation ...a concept which does not correspond exactly to the "cadentia" of which sixteenth-century theorists wrote. To Vicentino, each voice-part has its own typical melodic conventions, the so-called "atti delle cadentie" or cadential formulas. *Ibid.*, fol. 54v. To the *Cinquecento* musician, it was the congruence of the separate voices, each with its own stereotyped melodic formula, that produced the cadential harmony. Of all the types of cadences described by Vicentino, one, in particular, has achieved special significance because of its use in his first and fifth book of madrigals. Its characteristic nature is indicated in the treatise by the very chapter-heading under which it is described: "Explanation of cadences which do not conclude" ("Dimostratione delle cadentie che non concludeno..."), and in the illustrations offered by the theorist with the superscription: "Example of cadences... which avoid their conclusion" ("Essempio delle Cadentie... lequali fuggano la sue conclusione"). *Ibid.*, foll. 53-53v.

Zarlino is even more clear in his discussion of this concept. To him, a cadence is used to designate a general cessation in the harmonic movement [that is, for purely musical reasons] or to indicate "the perfection [that is, conclusion] of the sense of the words to which the piece is composed". ("...la perfettione del senso delle parole, sopra le quali la cantilena e composta."). Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice: [Pietro da Fino], 1558), p. 221. He then goes on to say that when an intermediate point of repose is desired, but the thought of the text has not been

a low d flat to underline the word "sepulchrum" (measure 12-14):



Later in the same motet (measures 60-62), the concept of darkness evoked by the expression "in tenebris" calls for a return to the same d flat.

More often, however, Vicentino attempts to convey the emotive quality of a whole passage or an entire work rather than to concentrate on individual words. One of his techniques embodies a scoring of contemplative, penitential or mournful compositions for a combination of voices which he calls "mutata voce". This inscription appears over three of the motets in this book (Numbers VI, XIV and XV) and is implied in the arrangement of clefs employed in "Heu mihi domine" attached to the Lassus part-books at Wrocław [40]. According to the treatise, this expression indicates that only men's voices within a limited range are to be used in the performance of such works:

> . . . when one composes a composition *à voce mutata,* that is without sopranos, watch that the extreme ranges do not exceed fifteen tones [two octaves] and at most, sixteen with the semitone, and this will give these pieces seriousness [41].

completed, then the melodic formula should avoid ending on the unison or octave, but end rather on the third, fifth, sixth, and similar consonances "because to terminate in this manner is not to end in a perfect cadence, but is known as avoiding the cadence.") (". . . perche il finire a cotesto modo, non e fine di Cadenza perfetta: ma si chiama fuggir la Cadenza . . ."). *Ibid.,* p. 225.

This deceptive type of ending gives rise to a stylistic trait which assumes singular importance because of its relevance to the problem of *musica reservata.* The only source that discusses this much disputed term in technical language can be found at Besançon in an anonymous contrapuntal treatise dated 1571 which states: "In continuous rhythm . . . avoid the cadence so that what they call *musica reservata* is created" ("In rhythmo . . . continuo clausulam fugies, ut fiat, quam vocant musicam reservatam."). This treatise, entitled "De Musica", has been reprinted with a free German translation by W. Bäumker, "Ueber den Kontrapunkt", *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte,* X (1878), 63-65. Perhaps an examination of Vicentino's and Zarlino's treatment of this cadential device may help to throw more light on the subject.

[40] See *supra,* pp. 171-172.

[41] ". . . quando si comporrà una compositione à voce Mutata, cioè, senza soprano; s'avvertirà che gli estremi non passino quindici voci, & al più in sedici con il semitono & si darà quella gravità . . ." Vicentino, *op. cit.,* fol. 84 (incorrectly numbered 79) v. Compare this statement with Morley's remarks that "musicians also used to make some compositions for men only to sing, in which case they never pass this compass: [the example which follows is limited to a range of two octaves]", and, further, "songs which are made . . . in the low key are composed with more gravity and staidness". Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music,* ed. R. Alec Harman (London: J. M. Dent, [1952]), p. 275.

The "mutation" is generally accomplished by reading the soprano part an octave lower, thus transforming it into a tenor part [42].

Rhythm is also used to depict the meaning of the text. The opening phrases of the third motet, "Iocunda est praesens vita", employ a rhythmically identical, almost dance-like organization in $\frac{3}{2}$ to interpret the words "Delightful is the present life"; then the mensuration changes to Ø, and the whole mood of the music is altered to conform to the concept of the text, "and it passes, [and terrible is Thy judgment, O Christ]" ("et transit, terribile est Christe iuditium").

Passages in $\frac{3}{2}$ can be found in a large proportion of these compositions [43], and almost every time they appear, a regular patterned phrase-structure is introduced, which stands in marked contrast to the free rhythmic organization of the rest of the motet. Since this technique occurs most often at the end of a piece or one of its sections, it contributes to an overall sense of form that helps to unify the composition. Both parts of Motet IV end in such a passage, and although the melodic material varies, the regularity of these phrases establishes a resemblance that implements the responsory organization of the text. Motets VI and VII are constructed in a similar manner, but the responsory structure is further confirmed by the use of indentical melodic patterns.

A responsorial construction, but without the mensural shift, unifies the motets from the Office of the Dead. "Parce mihi domine" (Number XIII) ends with the petition "miserere mei Deus" featuring a recitative-like reiteration of the word "miserere" on one note, c sharp (measures 85-87). "Spiritus meus" (Number XIV) treats the petition in a like manner, but adds the words "et salva me" with a different cadential ending. The complete text "miserere mei et salva me" reappears at the end of both sections of "Peccantem me quotidie" (Number XV), employing the same music

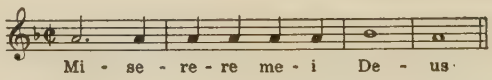
[42] Vicentino, *op. cit.*, fol. 92v. It is also possible on occasion to "convert" a tenor part into a soprano by raising the tenor an octave, although this practice seems to have been less common than the reverse procedure. *Ibid.*, fol. 93. In the seventeenth-century treatise of Silverio Picerli, *Specchio secondo di musica* . . . (Naples: Matteo Nucci, 1631), p. 65, the expression "voci mutate o trasportate: refers to the "transposition or mutation of voices . . . above or below themselves", (". . . trasportatione, o mutatione di voce . . . sopra di se o sotto di se") as much as an octave, thereby associating this term with the theory of the use of the "chiavette" for purposes of transposition. For a detailed exposition of this vexing problem, see Arthur Mendel, "Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries", *The Musical Quarterly,* XXXIV (1948), 336-357, 575-578.

[43] Passages in $\frac{3}{2}$ occur in all but the last six motets. They are found at the beginning of number III, at the end of numbers I, II, V, VIII, IX and at the end of each section of numbers IV, VI and VII.

as the previous motet. The last two compositions are further related to one another by the indication that they are to be sung *mutata voce,* thereby accentuating the mournful circumstances under which these pieces were to be performed.

Since these motets are designated *Liber quartus,* the possibility exists that, in time and with good fortune, other collections of Vicentino's works in this form may still come to light. Unhappily, at present only one other example of this genre is extant, and that also in an incomplete version. Manuscript B. 223-33 of the Proske Music Library in Regensburg contains the alto, tenor, bass and *sexta vox* of the motet "Infelix ego omnium auxilio- (II. *pars*): Ad te igitur piissime Deus" [44]. This composition is written in a moderately chromatic style and, in general, adheres to the suggestions of the text in its musical delineations. Thus, the phrase "celum(!) terramque" encompasses the range of a tenth within the space of three notes (bass, measures 13-14) to depict the gap between heaven and earth, and the question "ubi confugiam?" is set with a rapid melisma in all parts on the word of flight (measures 22-26).

Most salient is the replacement of the words in the *altus*-part by an *ostinato* repetition of a different text, "miserere mei Deus", always intoned according to the following formula:



This simple *cantus-firmus,* reminiscent of a psalm-tone, is identical with the famous "Miserere" melody of Josquin [45], and is treated technically in a similar manner. In the first *pars,* the individual entrances, separated by long intervening rests, appear on a^1, e^1, a, e^1, a^1, a, that is, in a tonic-dominant relationship, to use modern terminology. In the second *pars,* the successive entrances spell out the ascending scale-pattern a, b, c^1, d^1, e^1, f-sharp, g-sharp^1, a^1 [46]. Against this *cantus,* Vicentino has written parts in simple counterpoint, that, as in so many of his works, seem to spring from a basically harmonic conception.

[44] Sammlung Butsch, Signatur B 223-33. The author was unable to consult the entire manuscript, but is grateful to Dr. Schamagl of the Proske Library for a microfilm of the Vicentino motet and the designation of the extant parts. Only the *altus* part is specifically labelled in the copy at hand. The source of the text has not been traced.

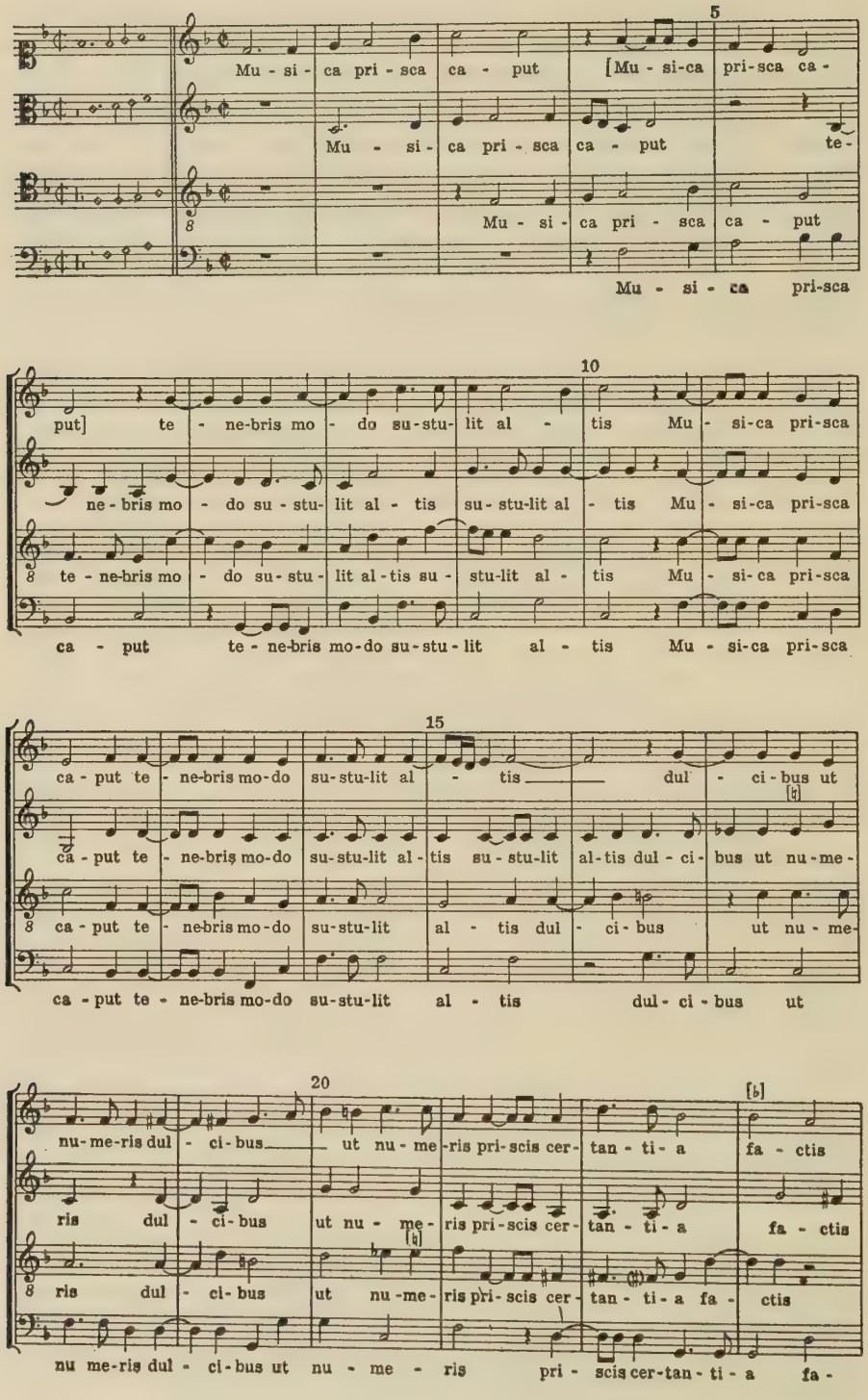
[45] Reese, *op. cit.,* p. 248. Similar examples of the simultaneous use of two texts can also be seen in the works of Morales. *Ibid.,* pp. 589, 591.

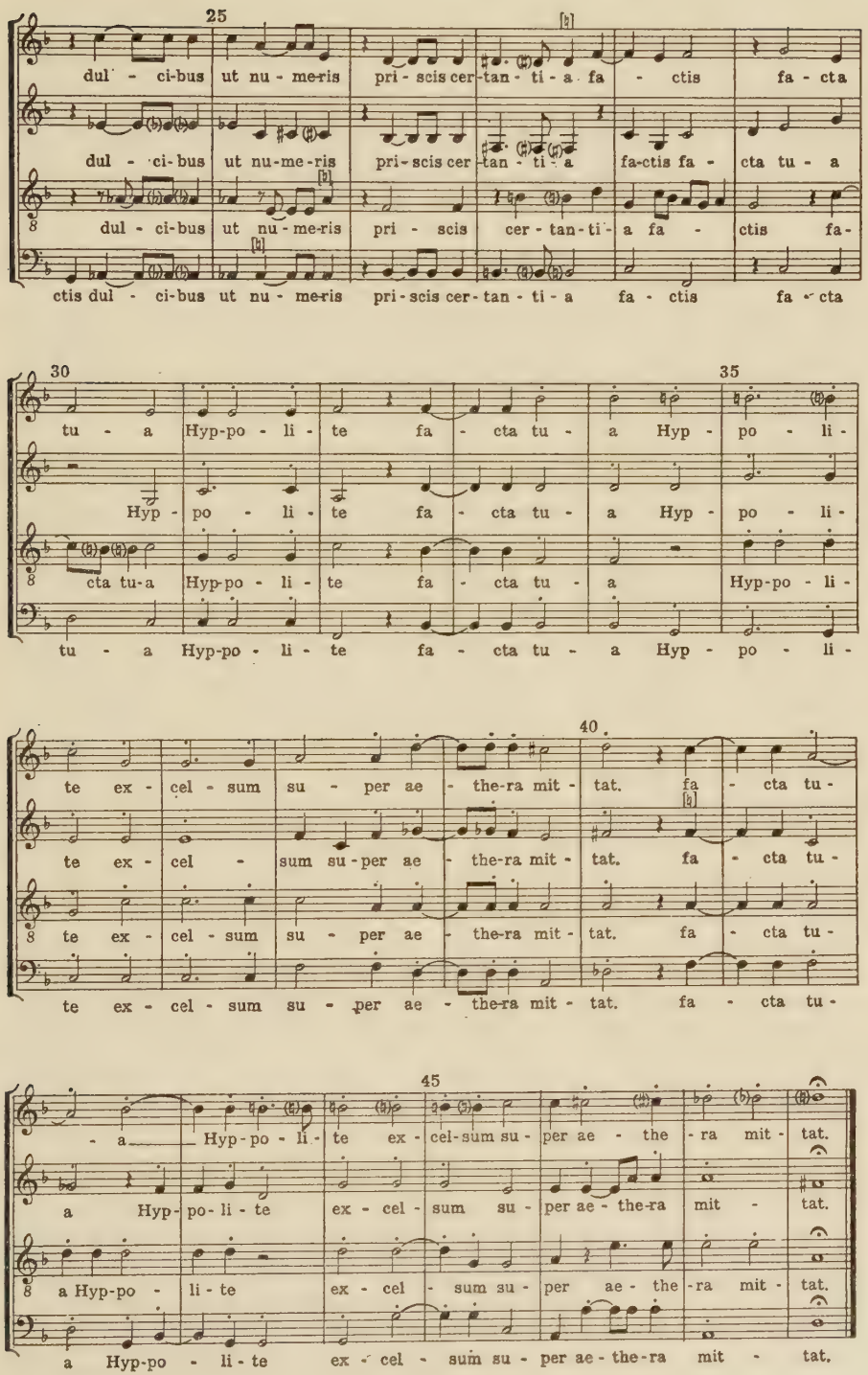
[46] Vicentino may well have known two other settings of the "Infelix Ego" text which use the phrase "Miserere Mei Deus" in a similar manner: Willaert's six-voiced setting, published by Montanus and Neuber in 1556 and the motet of De Rore on the same text published in 1595 by Gardano. The "Peccantem quotidie" of Jachet

These motets, despite their incomplete form, reveal many of the attitudes towards sacred music that conditioned the progressive composers of the later sixteenth century. Unfortunately, there are no earlier works of Vicentino in this genre with which to make a comparison, such as exist, for instance, in the case of his madrigals. Nonetheless, even as a torso, they present a concept of sacred composition that is in need of more investigation, and it is hoped that future studies in this area will recognize the significance of Don Nicola's contributions.

The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Berchem which was included in Willaert's six-voiced motet collection of 1542 was also apparently based on the Josquin prototype, since the same *ostinato* "Miserere mei" appears in the *sextus*-part. Cf. Alvin Johnson, review of "*Adriani Willaert, Opera omnia, IV: Motetta VI vocum, 1542,* ed. Hermannus Zenck . . .", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* IX (1956), p. 140, col. 2 and note 33.


5
Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put [Mu - si-ca pri-sca ca -
Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put te-
Mu - si - ca pri - sca ca - put
Mu - si - ca pri-sca
10
put] te - ne-bris mo - do su-stu- lit al - tis Mu - si-ca pri-sca
ne - bris mo - do su - stu- lit al - tis su - stu-lit al - tis Mu - si-ca pri-sca
te - ne-bris mo - do su-stu - lit al-tis su - stu-lit al - tis Mu - si-ca pri-sca
ca - put te - ne-bris mo-do su-stu - lit al - tis Mu - si-ca pri-sca
15
ca - put te - ne-bris mo-do su-stu-lit al - tis dul - ci - bus ut
ca - put te - ne-bris mo-do su-stu-lit al-tis su - stu-lit al-tis dul - ci- bus ut nu-me-
ca - put te - ne-bris mo-do su-stu-lit al - tis dul - ci - bus ut nu - me-
ca - put te - ne-bris mo-do su-stu-lit al - tis dul - ci - bus ut
20
[♭]
nu-me-ris dul - ci-bus ut nu - me -ris pri-scis cer- tan - ti - a fa - ctis
ris dul - ci-bus ut nu - me- ris pri-scis cer- tan - ti - a fa - ctis
ris dul - ci- bus ut nu -me- ris pri- scis cer- tan - ti - a fa - ctis
nu me-ris dul - ci-bus ut nu - me - ris pri - scis cer-tan - ti - a fa -


25
dul - ci-bus ut nu - me-ris pri - scis cer-tan - ti - a fa - ctis fa - cta
dul - ci-bus ut nu-me-ris pri-scis cer-tan - ti - a fa-ctis fa - cta tu - a
dul - ci-bus ut nu - me-ris pri - scis cer - tan-ti - a fa - ctis fa-
ctis dul - ci-bus ut nu - me-ris pri-scis cer-tan - ti - a fa - ctis fa - cta
30
35
tu - a Hyp-po - li - te fa - cta tu - a Hyp - po - li -
Hyp - po - li - te fa - cta tu - a Hyp - po - li -
cta tu-a Hyp-po - li - te fa - cta tu - a Hyp-po - li -
tu - a Hyp-po - li - te fa - cta tu - a Hyp - po - li -
40
te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the-ra mit - tat. fa - cta tu -
te ex - cel - sum su-per ae - the-ra mit - tat. fa - cta tu -
te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the-ra mit - tat. fa - cta tu -
te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the-ra mit - tat. fa - cta tu -
45
- a Hyp - po - li - te ex - cel-sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat.
a Hyp - po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the-ra mit - tat.
a Hyp-po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the - ra mit - tat.
a Hyp-po - li - te ex - cel - sum su - per ae - the-ra mit - tat.

JACOBUS CLEMENS NON PAPA'S CHANSONS IN THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

K. Ph. BERNET KEMPERS

Now that the chansons on French texts attributed to Clemens non Papa, and his seven songs in Dutch, will soon be published (*Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* IV, in two volumes), it seems useful to draft a list of them in chronological order of the first editions, with reference to later editions, to tablatures, manuscripts, scores, and with annotations. Under these annotations the reader will also find references to editions that give the same composition under the name of another composer. In these cases one has every reason to question Clemens's authorship. Works published for the first time after the death of a famous composer are mostly dubious. So, all chansons published for the first time after 1556 (rather, 1558, for in the years 1557 and 1558 no new chansons of the master were published) are more or less questionable, except perhaps "O Souverain pasteur — Père éternel" for reasons of quality and style. In all cases of questionable authorship the incipit is put between brackets.

The appearance just these days of the *International Inventory of Musical Sources* (*Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Internationales Quellenlexikon der Musik*) referred to below as RISM, facilitates reference to the printed sources of the chansons; it will not be necessary to cite the complete titles of the 16th- and 17th-century editions: referring to the *sigla* of the RISM the reader will be able to know the libraries where the original can be found. As the good old Eitner generally cites the complete title more extensively, the editor prefers to refer also to his signatures under the mark EB (Robert Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*). Also the original editors and the reprinters are indicated with abbreviations, of which a list follows.

Sixteenth-century publishers often reprinted an edition with a slightly different collection of songs. RISM considers such an edition as completely new, giving it its own *siglum*. This may be right or wrong, but where such a new edition with the same title contains the same works of Clemens, I have preferred to indicate this fact by adding appropriate exponents to the date in question. For example, $^{1}1538^{11}$ in casu Clemens = $^{2}1540^{9}$ = EB ^{2}1539t; that is to say: RISM 1538^{11} is a first edition of a collection of songs, which in its second edition, RISM 1540^{9}, contains the same

chanson(s) by Clemens. Eitner does not mention the first edition, but gives the second under 1539t.

The *Septiesme livre des chansons,* RISM 1560[6], published by Phalèse, proved to be a big success and was reprinted (also as *Livre septie[s]me*) many times by himself and by other publishers until 1651, always varying the contents. Nevertheless, most of these editions contain a constant stock of chansons, among them a certain number by Clemens, and in my opinion these can be looked upon as reprints. In the following list, since I did not want to repeat each time the whole series of *sigla* for the different editions, I have quoted "Livre septiesme" and the years between which the chanson was found in these collections. A list of the existing editions is added to the register of abbreviations.

The *Opera Omnia* will contain the Chansons in the same chronological order as in the list below.

As mentioned in the Foreword of Vol. IX of the *Opera Omnia,* in the present editor's opinion only the first editions of a composer so prolific as Clemens non Papa could have had a chance of being looked over by the composer himself and therefore to be considered by us as authentic. Neither new issues by the same publisher, nor the pirated copies of his rivals have a value other than for correction of obvious errors in printing. For this reason the chansons by Clemens, as well as his motets, are offered in the *Opera Omnia* in the order of and according to the first editions.

Abbreviations:

AnvSus	Antwerp, Tilmann Susato
AnvWaeL	Antwerp, Hubert Waelrant & Jean Laet
LouPh	Louvain, Pierre Phalèse
LyM	Lyon, Jacques Moderne
ParisAtt	Paris, Pierre Attaignant
ParisAttJ	Paris, Pierre Attaignant & Hubert Jullet
ParisduCh	Paris, Nicolas du Chemin
ParisRB	Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard
RISM	Répertoire International des Sources Musicales I Liste chronologique, München-Duisburg, 1960
EB	Robert Eitner, Bibliographie der Musiksammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1877
Utrecht IMW	Utrecht, Instituut voor Muziekwetenschap
Anon.	Anonymous

[1], [2] or [3] at the left of RISM or EB Sigla: first, second or third edition

Italics dubious attribution

Livre septiesme

RISM

1560[6] (EB 1560 d), 1562[3], 1570[8], (EB 1570c), 1573[4], 1576[2a], 1589[5], 1592[8], 1597[9], (EB 1597h), 1601[4], 1605[5], 1608[11], 1609[12], 1613[7], 1617[6-6a], 1632[5], 1633[2], EB 1636, 1640[6], 1644[3].

Not in RISM: Edition 1643 in the Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek) the Hague, Holland (only S.), and one *sine dato* (about 1651) in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. The classis Alkmaar of the Netherland Reformed Church (Nederlands Hervormde Kerk) owns a complete set of RISM 1644[3].

1560[6] (EB 1560 d) contains only anonymous pieces, 1562[3] has only 4 chansons by Clemens; since 1570[8] (EB 1570 c) their number is eight and so it stayed untill 1633[2]. RISM 1640[6] has 7 and the last issue of the Livre Septiesme (1651 ?) has only six: "A demy mort", "Mais languiray ie tousiours", "Rossignolet", "O Souverain pasteur", "Père éternel" and "Iouons beau jeu", which are found in all issues since 1570. I have not seen all. For instance, I have *not* seen 1562[3] as the librarian of the Biblioteca municipal of Madrid does not react to letters. The "Livre septiesme" would be a study in itself.

CHANSONS

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
1529	(Au ioly bois ie rencontray)	3	1529^{4}		ParisAtt	Anon.
			${}^{1}1560^{7}$ =	1560b	LouPh	Clemens non Papa
			${}^{2}1569^{9}$		LouPh	
1536	Le departir est sans departement	4	1536^{5}		ParisAtt	Anon.
			${}^{1}1538^{11}$ =		ParisAttJ	
			${}^{2}1540^{9}$	${}^{2}1539t$	ParisAttJ	"Clemens"
			1551^{4}		ParisduCh	
			1551^{5}	1551f	ParisduCh	Tablatures among others, by Bernhart Schmid, RISM 1577^{12}, StrasJob RISM 1583^{22}, NüGer, anon.
1537	Jaquin jaquet	4	1537^{4}		ParisAttJ	
1537	(Une fillette bien gorriere)	4	${}^{1}1538^{11}$ =		ParisAttJ	
			${}^{2}1540^{9}$	${}^{2}1539t$	ParisAttJ	"Clemens" RISM 1538^{16} = EB 1538m LyM attributes, this piece to Clément Janequin. Ms. 940/41 of Regensburg-Proske under No. 174 says: "Gallicum quoddam". As ParisAttJ indicates only "Clemens" as composer, it is not unlikely question that they confuse Jacques Clément, called since 1545 Clemens non Papa, and Clément Janequin, Jannequin or Jennequin. Modern Score: Robert Eitner, *Publicationen* XXIII, No. 17 p. 31.
1538	Ung iour passe	4	${}^{1}1538^{11}$ =		ParisAttJ	
			${}^{2}1540^{9}$	${}^{2}1539t$	ParisAttJ	
1538	Laultrier passant	4	1538^{14}	1539w	ParisAttJ	A misprint. (Sup. and Tenor also in the Altus and Bassus Book). Not reprinted in the second edition.
1539	(Je prens en gre la dure mort)	4	1539^{15}	1539x	ParisAtt	LyM RISM 1540^{16} = EB 1540o contains this song under the name of "Jennequin".

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
			1543^{16}	1543f	AnvSus	AnvSus RISM 1543^{16} = EB 1543f gives it as anonymous, which seems rather significant; Susato, as principal editor of Clemens during his lifetime and hence best informed, never reprinted this very popular piece under Clemens's name.
						Ms. A.R. 940/41, No. 53 of Regensburg-Proske ascribes it to "Rogirus" and adds in the Superius: "Cantio cygnaea", in the Altus: "Cantio ultima et vere cygnaea", in the Bassus: "Carmen Lugubre" of Rogirus i.e. Rogier. (*See*: Willfried Brennecke: *Die Handschrift A.R. 940/41 der Proske Bibliothek*, Regensburg, Kassel, 1953.)
						Ms. Utrecht I.M.W. codex Lerma: Joan (sic) Baston
						RISM 1544^{13} contains a 6 part transcription of this song by Josquin Baston
			1551^{4}		ParisduCh	
			1551^{5}	1551f	ParisduCh	
			"Livre Septiesme" (1560-1643)			Ms. Cambray 124, No. 22
						Ms. Basel F. IX 59-62, II, No. 12 anon.
						Tablatures, among others:
						Lute: RISM 1568^{23}, LouPh
						Organ: RISM 1577^{12}, StrasJob
						Organ: RISM 1583^{22}, NüGer
1541	Frisque et gaillard	4	1541^{5}	1542l	ParisAtt	RISM 1541^{5} = EB 1542l: Frisque et gaillard
			1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	RISM 1545^{16} = EB 1545i Frais et gaillard
			1551^{4}		ParisduCh	
			1551^{5}	1551f	ParisduCh	RISM 1551^{5} = EB 1551f: Frisque et gaillard
						Tablatures:
						Lute: RISM 1568^{23}, LouPh, anon.
						Organ: RISM 1583^{22}, NüGer, anon.
						Modern Score: R. Eitner, Publicationen XXXIII p. 33f
1543	Il y a non si a	4	1543^{9}	1543h	ParisAttJ	
1545	L'homme qui est en ce monde present	4	1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
1545	Iuvons beau jeu	4	1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	Ms. Utrecht I.M.W. Codex Lerma One page of this song is painted on an anonymous picture from the 16th Century at the Gemälde Galerie, Bamberg, Bavaria
			"Livre Septiesme" (1560-1651)			
1545	A demy mort	4	1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	Tablatures: Lute: RISM 1571^{16}, LouPh Lute: RISM 1568^{23}, LouPh, anon. Organ: RISM 1583^{22}, NüGer, anon.
			"Livre Septiesme" (1560-1651)			
1545	Las si ie nay	4	1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	
1545	Ieune gallant	4	1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	
1545	Rossignolet	4	1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	Tablature: Lute RISM 1571^{16} LouPhB
			1549^{27}	1549w	ParisduCh	Very bad score with modernized text in Maldeghem, Trésor musical, Iière année
			"Livre Septiesme" (1560-1651)			Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. Rés. 1591 Westdeutsche Bibliothek Marburg (from Berlin) Ms. 40208 (without text)
1545	Pour presenter a vous Responce: Mon seul espoir	4	1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	
1545	Mourir my fault	4	1545^{16}	1545i	AnvSus	
			1557^{12}		ParisduCh	
			"Livre Septiesme" (1560-1643)			Ms. München 1501 No. 14 Tablature: Organ: RISM 1583^{22}, NüGer, anon. Responce of: "Je prens en gre"
1546	Ie ne scay pas	4	1546^{13}	1546g	ParisAtt	
1549	Oncques amour Responce: Puisque malheur	4	1549^{29}	1549k	AnvSus	
1549	La la la la, la maistre Pierre	4	1549^{29}	1549k	AnvSus	Modern Score: Commer, C.O.M.B. XII, 22
1549	Pour un las iendure	4	1549^{29}	1549k	AnvSus	
1549	Coeur langoreux	4	1549^{29}	1549k	AnvSus	
1549	Incessament suis triste	4	1549^{29}	1549k	AnvSus	

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
1549	Entre vous filles	4	1549^{29}	1549k	AnvSus	Ms. München 1501, No. 50, anon.
			"Livre Septiesme" 1560 (1562?) anon.			Modern Score: Commer, C.O.M.B. XII, 21 Ms. Utrecht I.M.W. Codex Lerma
1549	Mais languiray ie	4	1549^{29} 1549^{24}	1549k 1549r	AnvSus ParisAtt	
			"Livre Septiesme" (1560-1651)			Tablature: Lute: RISM 1568^{23}, LouPh, anon.
1549	Sur la verdure	4	1549^{25}	1549u	ParisduCh	Tablature: Lute: RISM 1568^{23}, LouPh, anon.
			"Livre Septiesme" 1560 (1562?) anon.			Modern Score: Commer, C.O.M.B. XII, 23 Munich, Staatsbibl. mus. pr. 201
1550	La belle margaritte	5	1550^{13}	1550e	AnvSus	
1550	A qui me doib ie retirer	5	1550^{13}	1550e	AnvSus	
1550	Si par trop boire	5	1550^{13}	1550e	AnvSus	
1550	Las non ailleurs	5	1550^{13}	1550e	AnvSus	Ms. Utrecht, I.M.W. Codex Lerma
	Responce: D'amy parfaict		1553^{24}	1553p	LouPh	Kopenhagen Kon. Bibl. Ms. 1873
1550	Las ie languis	5	1550^{13}	1550e	AnvSus	
1550	Plorer gemir et larmoyer my fault	5	1550^{13}	1550e	AnvSus	
1550	Sans lever le pied	5	1550^{13}	1550e	AnvSus	In this composition Clemens non Papa makes use of the themes of a chanson by Cirot, published in *26 Chansons musicales à 4 voix*, ParisAtt 1534
1550	La belle margarite	6	1550^{14}	1550f	AnvSus	
1550	Amour au cueur me poingt	8	1550^{14}	1550f	AnvSus	Text: Cl. Marot
				1560c	ParisRB	Lost?
			1572^{2}	1572a	ParisRB	
1550	Languir me fais	6	1550^{14}	1550f	AnvSus	Text: Cl. Marot Based on the chanson by Claudin de Sermisy from 1531 Modern Score: Commer, C.O.M.B. XII, 24 Ms. Utrecht I.M.W. Codex Lerma
1550	C'est a grant tort	6	1550^{14}	1550f	AnvSus	
1551	Au ioly bocquet croist la violette	4	1551^{9}	1551e	ParisduCh	

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
1552	Enfans a la bordee alumons ces fagotz	4	$(1552)^{7}$		AnvSus	RISM $(1552)^{7, 8, 9}$, AnvSus: Of this undated edition the British Museum owns the Bassus (Signature K 8 i 7, 8 10). The Altus of 7 and 8 is in possesion of the Musée Condé, Chantilly and of 9 in the Bibl. Nat. Paris (Signature Rés. Vm^{7} 512). Other parts are lost
1552	Ne sauroit on trouver	4	$(1552)^{7}$		AnvSus	
1552	Misericorde au martir amoureux	4	$(1552)^{7}$		AnvSus	
			1554^{22}	1554t	LouPh	
1552	Ayez bientot de moy merchi	4	$(1552)^{8}$		AnvSus	
1552	Or il ne m'est possible	4	$(1552)^{8}$		AnvSus	Apparently a 4-part study for the 5-part chanson on the same text
1552	Ta bonne grace	4	$(1552)^{8}$		AnvSus	
1552	Amour tu m'est par trop cruel	4	$(1552)^{9}$		AnvSus	
1552	Une fillette tant subtile	4	$(1552)^{9}$		AnvSus	
(1552)	Garchon de villaige	4	${}^{1}1554^{22}$ =	1554t	LouPh	As the "second" and "tiers" livre are from 1552, it can be taken that also a "premier" livre was printed in that year. 1554^{22} = EB 1554t in that case is a second edition of the lost one from 1552.
			${}^{2}1558^{10}$		LouPh	
(1552)	Puisqu' ainsi est	4	${}^{1}1554^{22}$ =	1554t	LouPh	Ms. Utrecht I.M.W. Codex Lerma "Pousque voulemque"
			${}^{2}1558^{10}$		LouPh	
(1552)	Venes mes serfs	4	${}^{1}1554^{22}$ =	1554t	LouPh	Ms. Utrecht I.M.W. Codex Lerma "Venes mens"
			${}^{2}1558^{10}$		LouPh	
(1552)	Puisque voulez	4	${}^{1}1554^{22}$ =	1554t	LouPh	
			${}^{2}1558^{10}$		LouPh	
1552	En attendant damour	4	${}^{1}1552^{12}$ =		LouPh	
			${}^{2}1554^{23}$ =	${}^{2}1554u$	LouPh	
			${}^{3}1559^{7}$		LouPh	
1552	Plus chault que feu	4	${}^{1}1552^{12}$ =		LouPh	Coïmbra. Ms. 242n 183, fol. 159/159v (Score of ca. 1600 without text)
			${}^{2}1554^{23}$ =	${}^{2}1554u$	LouPh	
			${}^{3}1559^{7}$		LouPh	
1552	Helas mamour	4	${}^{1}1552^{12}$ =		LouPh	Coïmbra. Ms. 242n 183, fol. 159v/160 (Score of ca. 1600 without text)
			${}^{2}1554^{23}$ =	${}^{2}1554u$	LouPh	
			${}^{3}1559^{7}$		LouPh	

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
1552	Mourir convient	4	$^{1}1552^{12}$ =		LouPh	
			$^{2}1554^{23}$ =	$^{2}1554u$	LouPh	
			$^{3}1559^{7}$		LouPh	
1552	Adieu delices de mon ceur	4	$^{1}1552^{12}$ =		LouPh	
	Responce: Adieu magnificques festins		$^{2}1554^{23}$ =	$^{2}1554u$	LouPh	
			$^{3}1559^{7}$		LouPh	
1552	Or puisqu'il est	4	$^{1}1552^{13}$ =		LouPh	Tablature:
			$^{2}1554^{24}$	$^{2}1554v$	LouPh	Lute: RISM 1553^{33}, LouPh
						Transcription of tablaturre, S.I.M.G. VIII 1906-1907 p. 283. f. (H. Quittard)
1552	Si mon amour	4	$^{1}1552^{13}$ =		LouPh	Responce of: Or puisqu'il est
			$^{2}1554^{24}$	$^{2}1554v$	LouPh	
			1554^{22}	1554t	ParisduCh	
1552	Au faict d'amour	4	$^{1}1552^{14}$ =		LouPh	Tablature:
			$^{2}1555^{20}$	1555n	LouPh	Lute: RISM 1571^{16}, LouPhB
1552	Toutes les nuyctz	4	$^{1}1552^{15}$ =		LouPh	Text: Cl. Marot
			$^{2}1555^{21}$	$^{2}1555o$	LouPh	Tablature:
						Lute: RISM 1568^{23}, LouPh
1552	Qu'en dictes vous	4	$^{1}1552^{15}$ =		LouPh	
			$^{2}1555^{21}$	$^{2}1555o$	LouPh	
			1557^{10}		ParisduCh	
1553	Esperant d'avoir	5	$^{1}1553^{24}$ =	1553p	LouPh	
			$^{2}1556^{13}$		LouPh	
1553	Aymer est ma vie	5	$^{1}1553^{24}$ =	1553p	LouPh	Tablature:
			$^{2}1556^{13}$		LouPh	Lute: RISM 1553^{33}, LouPh; RISM 1571^{16}, LouPh
1553	Or il ne m'est possible	5	$^{1}1553^{24}$ =	1553p	LouPh	Ms. London British Museum, Add 30480/4
			$^{2}1556^{13}$		LouPh	
1553	Laultrier me cheminoie	5	$^{1}1553^{24}$ =	1553p	LouPh	
			$^{2}1556^{13}$		LouPh	
1553	Adieu mon esperance	6	$^{1}1553^{24}$ =	1553p	LouPh	Tablature:
			$^{2}1556^{13}$		LouPh	Lute: RISM 1571^{16}, LouPh

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
1553	Mon pere si me maria	5	$^{1}1553^{25}$ =	1553q	LouPh	Ms. Utrecht I.M.W. Codex Lerma
			$^{2}1560^{5}$		LouPh	
			$(1556)^{19}$	1556p	AnvWael	
1553	Me retirer d'elle	5	$^{1}1553^{25}$ =	1553q	LouPh	
			$^{2}1560^{5}$		LouPh	
			$(1556)^{19}$	1556p	AnvWael	
1553	A qui me doibs ie retirer	5	$^{1}1553^{25}$ =	1553q	LouPh	Ms. Utrecht I.M.W. Codex Lerma (damaged)
			$^{2}1560^{5}$		LouPh	
			$(1556)^{19}$	1556p	AnvWael	
1553	Si par souffrir I	6	$^{1}1553^{25}$ =	1553q	LouPh	
			$^{2}1560^{5}$		LouPh	
			$(1556)^{19}$	1556p	AnvWael	
1556	Celluy qui est loing	4	$(1556)^{17}$	1556n	AnvWael	
1556	Dung nouveau dard	4	$(1556)^{17}$	1556n	AnvWael	Text: Cl. Marot
1556	Tetin qui n'as rien que la peau	4	$(1556)^{17}$	1556n	AnvWael	Text: Cl. Marot
1556	Sur tous regretz	4	$(1556)^{18}$	1556o	AnvWael	
1556	Congie je prens de vous	4	$(1556)^{18}$	1556o	AnvWael	
1556	Puisqu' amour m'a	4	$(1556)^{19}$	1556p	AnvWael	
1556	Je fais ma penitence	4	$(1556)^{19}$	1556p	AnvWael	
1556	Si par souffrir II	4	$(1556)^{19}$	1556p	AnvWael	
1556	Misericorde au pauvre vicieux	4	$(1556)^{19}$	1556p	AnvWael	Text: Cl. Marot, Pseaume LI Adaptation of Misericorde au Martir amoureux to a sacred text. Both forms were used in Clemens's Missa "Miséricorde". See: *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, Clemens non Papa Vol. I, 1
1560	(A ce bon an mon coeur)	3	$^{1}1560^{7}$ =	1560b	LouPh	Posthumous edition
			$^{2}1569^{9}$			
1560	(Je prens en gre la dure mort)	3	$^{1}1560^{7}$ =	1560b	LouPh	Posthumous edition. Transcription of the 3-part song of 1539
			$^{2}1569^{9}$			
1560	(Par ton depart)	3	$^{1}1560^{7}$ =	1560b	LouPh	Not indicated as composed by Clemens in the index, only at the head of the pages
			$^{2}1569^{9}$			

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
1569	(S'il est si doux)	3	1569^{1}		LouPh	EB 1559c: "Clemens Janequin"
1570	(O souverain pasteur — Père eternel)	4	"Livre Septiesme" (1570-1651)			
1571	(Musiciens regardez devant vous)	4				Tablature: Lute: RISM 1571^{16}, LouPh, fol. 76v
?	(Comme le cerf)	6				Ms. London British Museum, Royal Appendix 49-54

DUTCH SONGS

Year	Incipit	Parts	RISM	EB	Publisher	Remarks
1551	Een Venus schoon	4	1551^{19}	1551c	AnvSus	Only Sup. in the Hague, Gemeente Museum
			1572^{11}	1572	LouPh	RISM 1572^{11} = EB 1572, LouPh was edited in score by F. van Duyse, by order of the Ver. van Nederl. Muziekgeschiedenis
1554	Die lustelycke mey	4	1554^{31}		MaeBae	RISM 1554^{31} MaeBae: Sup. is missing. Other Parts: Heilbronn, Stadtarchiv
			1572^{11}	1572	LouPh	
1554	Te schepe warts	4	1554^{31}		MaeBae	Incomplete
1554	De voghelkens vrolyck ruyten	4	1554^{31}		MaeBae	
			1572^{11}	1572	LouPh	
1554	Alle myn ghepeys	4	1554^{31}		MaeBae	
			1572^{11}	1572	LouPh	
1554	Meysken wildy vechten	3	1554^{31}		MaeBae	Munnich Mus. Mss. 1502/26
	Godt es myn licht	4	1572^{11}	1572	LouPh	Undated. Ms. Halle U.B. Ed. 1147 Modern Score: Ver. v. Nederl. Muz. Gesch. 5 Geestelijke Liederen
	Nu laet ons al te samen	4				Undated. Munnich, Mus. Mss. 1502/27

TOWARDS A BIOGRAPHY OF GIOVANNI GABRIELI

DENIS ARNOLD

A paradox of historical research is that a study of great insight, apparently opening new vistas to the scholar, may by its very greatness deter others from following up its ideas. In musicology, this is nowhere more evident than in the field of Venetian music. The great books of Winterfeld and Caffi were among the very earliest of the monuments of musicology. Both are now over a century old, and very little has been added to our knowledge of their subjects.

Yet both of these studies often set rather than resolve problems. Neither of them even settle such a matter as Giovanni Gabrieli's date of birth; and it is clear that these two great scholars could do no more than explore a small part of the tremendous amount of documentary evidence preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Venice. Thus it is that we know less about Giovanni Gabrieli's life than about many minor composers of his epoch; and although it is true that only a stroke of good fortune will reveal personal material such as we find in the letters of Monteverdi, nevertheless official documents can fill in some of the details of his position in Venice's musical life, and at times illuminate the conditions of performance for which his music was written.

Of his early life abroad, the Venetian archives reveal nothing. The record of his birth has not so far been found [1]. The first document which is preserved records that he was in Venice in November 1584, when he took part in the customary tests of the post of organist in San Marco [2]. He took up his duties there in January 1585 (M.V. 1584). Thereafter we gain the impression of a busy and alert musician, for almost immediately he accepted a further post, that of organist to the *Scuola Grande di San Rocco*. In one of the account books of this body, we find an entry dated 4th August 1585:

[1] For a discussion of how this may be calculated see the article "Andrea u. Giovanni Gabrieli" in *MGG* IV.

[2] The discussions of Caffi and Benvenuti *(Istituzioni e Monumenti dell' Arte Musicale Italiana* Vol. I, introduction p. 72 ff) about whether he was first or second organist during his period of office seem to be imposing the ideas of the eighteenth century collector of the Archivio di Stato Venezia, Procuratia de Supra, Busta 91 on the situation. In fact, the first idea of a seniority of organists seems to date from the first half of the 17th century.

> Receve io Jovanni Gabriello organista dal Mag^co Guardiã grãde ducati vinti quatro p il salari de ano uno precipiado a 13 febraro 1584 [3].

This seems to be in Gabrieli's own hand. It is clear that he was paid half way through the year, and we must assume that this initial payment of a complete year's salary was in some way unusual, since the chaplains and musicians are not as a rule mentioned in these accounts, probably being paid as part of larger transactions by the treasurer or *Guardian Grande*.

At first sight it seems surprising that Gabrieli should take a new job concurrently with that at S. Marco, as there were a considerable number of festivals at which he would have had to play at the church of S. Rocco [4]. Nevertheless, there seem to have been few difficulties about substitutes, and in any case the music of the *Scuole Grande* at this time must have been rather more simple than at certain periods, since the Council of Ten, in one of its frequent fits of austerity had recently forbidden too great an expenditure on musicians by the fraternities [5].

In the eventuality, we know that Gabrieli did not neglect his duties at S. Marco, for the account books tell us something of his work from 1586 onwards [6].

> August 19 [1586] a cassa ducati diese [dieci] contadi a Zuane Gabrieli Horganista p pagar li concerti fatti in horgano la vigilia della Sensa, [Ascension] con dodeci instrumenti, cosi nelli horgani tutti doi, come nel palco fatto appresso il pergolo dell' evangelio per causa di tal musiche . . . [7].

In other words, there had been music with three choirs, one in each of the choir galleries (horgani) and one on a specially erected platform near the pulpit by the rood screen. Twelve extra instrumentalists were needed in addition to the salaried staff, and Gabrieli paid them. He did the same thing after the midnight mass of Christmas of that year [8]. While these entries do not say that Gabrieli was doing more than the routine job of paying the musicians, we shall see that later forms of entry in this account book (in which the various clerks each have their own formulas for such entries) suggest that in fact he had a great deal to do in arranging and rehearsing the music.

[3] A.S.V. S. Rocco, Busta 423, f. 104v. The date is given according to the Venetian calendar.

[4] See Arnold, "Music at the Scuola di San Rocco" in *Music and Letters* Vol. 40 (1959) p. 233.

[5] Consiglio dei X, decree of April 30, 1584.

[6] The accounts immediately preceding 1586 are lost.

[7] Proc. de Supra, Registro 4, Cassier Chiesa 1586-92. There are no folio numbers and entries are by date.

[8] *Ibid,* January 13th 1587 (M.V. 1586).

The next relevant entry [9] in these accounts tells us for the first time that Gabrieli was ill, and it is perhaps not too much to imagine that this may have been one of the recurring attacks of the stone from which he was eventually to die.

> 24 dec. 1593. p spese per la chiesa // a cassa d.[ucati] vinti g[rossi] 8. cod^{i} a S. Zuanpaulo Zusto organista p dar alli sotto scritti p gli concerti straordinarij fatti in chiesa la Vigilia di ntal alla messa et il Giorno di Natal a mesa cioè a S. Zorzi organista in loco de S. Zuane Gabrieli quale era amalato et a S. Vicenzo organista et a S. Fra^{co} Laudis M. Nicolo Mosto M. Gasparo M. Gasparin M. Stefano M. Ventura M. Lorenzo a scudi dui p uno sono scudi 18 p poliza de Piero Zusto.

The phrase at the end of this entry "per poliza de Piero Zusto" refers to the fact that expenditure of a comparatively small nature could be incurred on behalf of the Procurators by various trusted officials of S. Marco. For the festival music it was usual for the maestro di cappella to order and pay the extra singers and players. Sometimes we find both maestro and organist on the same day paying groups of players for different festivals, which suggests a division of labour, as though they each rehearsed and directed a separate service, one perhaps for Vespers on the Vigil of a Saint's Day, the other for mass on the day itself. During the term of office of Baldassare Donato, we find both Gabrieli and Giovanni Bassano paying the various players. Gabrieli, for example, paid the players on April 18th 1594 [10], probably for the Easter festivals; and again for the Christmas music of that year [11]. Easter Day of 1595 seems to have been his responsibility [12], and we are not in the least surprised to find in the first volume of his *Sacrae Symphoniae* some of his most splendid music for these days.

There are other signs of his energy in these earlier years at San Marco. Not only were most of his extant madrigals written for anthologies written before 1600. It also appears that Gabrieli wrote music for the plays and dramatic entertainments which were given on festival days in the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale. One of his large scale madrigals, for example, must surely have been composed for the "Rappresentatione al Sereniss. Principe di Venetia, etc. PASQUAL CICOGNA Il giorno di S. Stefano 1585" [13]. This dramatic dialogue opens with Apollo and the Muse both reciting (or perhaps singing) the words of the madrigal:

> O che felice giorno
> Qual fu mai lieto e dilettoso tanto
> Celebriamolo, o Muse, in festa e in canto.

[9] Proc. de Supra, Registro 5, Cassier Chiesa 1592-1603.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid,* 3 January 1595 (M.V. 1594).
[12] *Ibid,* 21 April 1595.
[13] Biblioteca Marciana, Misc. 179. 9.

The rest of the piece is in the usual rather dull semi-pastoral verse of the period, but the entertainment at least ended brilliantly with a duet accompanied by lutes and then, as the word book says, "Qui segue una Musica di voci", in fact the madrigal again, surely in the double choir version which was published a few years later.

The word books of these entertainments have not been preserved in many cases, especially for the decade which followed this homage to Doge Cicogna. Even so, the words and music of several of the larger scale madrigals by Giovanni Gabrieli suggest that they were written for similar occasions. What is curious is that in the following decade, when the Doge Marin Grimani ordered such spectacles several times a year, Gabrieli does not seem to have written music for them. For these, the word books are extant, but we find no sign of Gabrieli's madrigal texts, although we must remember that a great deal of this occasional music has certainly disappeared.

But it may not be too fanciful to assume that for these later occasions, Gabrieli's ill health prevented him from taking a major part, for in 1600 the pay book of San Marco tells us that on Ascension Day the treasurer paid

> ... et a Zuane Priulj S[cudo] uno p aver sonato nelli organi di sopra in locho di S. Zuanne Gabrielj amalato come p poliza del detto priulj p nome di S. Zuan Gabrielj organista [14].

though he had been well enough to take part in the festivities of St Mark's Day on April 25th [14].

By this time, he was clearly one of the most influential musicians in Venice. In the registers of the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the major church of the city after S. Marco, we find that when they wanted an organist in July 1602, instead of the usual brother from the attached monastery

> fu eletto in organista un scolaro del Sr Gio. Gabrieli cō salario di 30 ducati all' anno cō patto ch̄ anco insegna a fra Pietro Martire da V^a^ Profetto in Noviciato [15].

It is unusual for the actual name of the organist to be omitted in this main rule book of the church. Perhaps Gabrieli sent his best pupil of the time, for it is noticeable that only twelve years later, after his death, is the organist of the church again mentioned by name.

Also at this time the Scuola di San Rocco was much indebted to Gabrieli for his work on the festival of its patron saint. I have recorded

[14] *Ibid,* 20 May 1600. Ascension Day itself was on May 11th. The payment for St Mark's Day was made on June 6th.

[15] A.S.V. SS Giovanni e Paolo, Registro XII, f. 82v.

elsewhere [16] his contribution on 16th August 1595 when he hired the organs and took his place amongst a most distinguished company of musicians. It is no coincidence that the music of the *Scuole Grande* became more brilliant than ever about this time, for the accession of Doge Grimani caused the relaxation of the austerity regulations of the previous decade. From 1602 onwards, Gabrieli's name appears regularly in the S. Rocco accounts for this festival. In that year he received 62 lire as his *donativo,* or personal fee [17]. In 1603 [18], they paid him 20 ducats for the loan of six small organs, three more for the rent of the big organ and a fee of ten ducats. The following year [19] he rented out seven organs for 147 lire, paid for lutanists and a violon player, and again received 62 lire for himself. He had the same fee in 1605 [20]. In 1606, Croce directed the music while Gabrieli again hired out the organs and received 60 lire for himself, ten less than Croce [21]. In the same year these accounts give us a hint that at times the School was obliged to find a substitute for him, as on the Thursday of Holy Week (Zobbia Santo), we find a payment to "M. Zuane organista dei frari" [22].

With his salary from S. Marco, the regular pay from the Scuola di S. Rocco and these casual payments it is clear that Gabrieli was one of the best paid musicians in Venice. In actual money, he must have received nearly as much as Croce, maestro di cappella in S. Marco who had to obtain special permission to accept outside engagements while he held this position; although it is true that Croce received a rent-free house as part of his emoluments. So it is a little surprising to find that Gabrieli was in financial difficulties during the early years of the new century. On August 11th 1602, the S. Rocco account book contains another entry in Gabrieli's hand.

> R^ci Jo Giovanni Gabrielli dal Mag^co sopra detto ducati vintiquattro p cōto del mio salario p l'ano presēte [23].

Again the Guardian Grande has paid him his salary half way through the year which looks as though he specially requested it. A little later the pay-book of S. Marco contains another suggestive entry [24].

[16] "Music at the Scuola di San Rocco", p. 235.
[17] A.S.V. S. Rocco, Busta 156, Cauzioni (1602-03).
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid,* Busta 157, Cauzioni (1604-05).
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] *Ibid,* Busta 158, Cauzioni (1606-08).
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] A.S.V., San Rocco, Busta 423, entry under date. I am indebted to Mr Brian Pullan for drawing my attention to this entry.
[24] Cassier Chiesa, Registro 5.

> 27 Maggio 1603 p cassa // a S. Zuane Gabrieli ducati dodeci g.[rossi] 12 a lasciato nella sua paga di marzo presente a zugno prosimo a conto suo debito.

In other words he has had an advance in pay. Normally he would have received his bi-monthly pay at the end of June. On the other hand he had missed one pay day, that at the end of April, so perhaps this is understandable enough. But later in the year [25], without any apparent excuse of this sort, we find him drawing his pay for September and October over a month early.

Now an occasional advance of pay was not unusual at S. Marco. Gabrieli himself had had one at the beginning of his service there [26] presumably because of the expenses of settling down in Venice; and the singers and players, even the more highly paid ones [27], quite often borrowed their pay for a month or so. Yet it is rare for a succession of advances to be found, unless a man is in serious financial difficulties. At this point we find Gabrieli receiving his pay in February 1604 a week earlier (or rather two weeks, since the rest of the staff were paid on March 6th); and then in March, he received his pay until the end of April [28]. It thus seems that he was in serious enough financial trouble for about nine months.

At this time, we find that Gabrieli's name disappears from those entries in the accounts which deal with the payment of the players. The last one to contain it concerns the Christmas activities for 1602 and is worth recording here because it contains the names of the players and their instruments, and so gives us a complete picture of the Gabriellian orchestra.

> alli sottoscritti musichi sonadori p haver sonato la notte della Vigilia di Natale et la matina di Natale a messe a scudi doi p uno cioè a Zuane di Prioli sono l'organeto sopra li palco, a S. Ventura co' il Violon, a S. Nicolo da Mosto col fagoto, a S. Alvise Grani co' il trombon, a S. Gasparo Sanson co'il trombon, a S. Nicolo Mosto co' il trombon, a S. Vivian co' il cornetto, a S. Marco Laudis co' il cornetto, a S. Battista Caliger co' il trombon, a S. Francesco Bonfante co' il violin, a S. Vicenzo co' il cornetto, a S. Silvio co' il trombon, a S. Zuane da Salò co' il trombon, a S. Francesco da Treviso co' il violin, sono in tutto scudi 29 fusse L 196 come p poliza S. Zuane Gabrieli organista [29].

To these must be added the six players in regular employment in S. Marco, directed by Giovanni Bassano, so that Gabrieli had an ensemble of about

[25] *Ibid,* September 26, 1603.

[26] Benvenuti, *op. cit.* p. 71.

[27] E.g. to Zuane Grisard, the French castrato, 2nd January 1601 (M.V. 1600); and Paulo Giusto, the player of the small organ 12th September 1607 and 22nd March 1608.

[28] Cassier Chiesa, Registro 6, 24th February 1604 (M.V. 1603) and 29th March.

[29] Cassier Chiesa, Registro 5, 2 January 1603 (M.V. 1602).

twenty in all. The preponderance of cornets and trombones, although expected from other sources on Venetian music, is interesting to know in such detail, since it means that there must have been a considerable amount of doubling of parts. Few of Gabrieli's (or anybody else's) works demand more than about a dozen independent lines, and doubling of wind instruments no doubt was as natural a procedure as doubling string parts is today. And then, since for this festival no extra singers were employed, the balance of voices and instruments must have been very different from that to which we are accustomed. Even allowing for the more subdued tone qualities of the wind instruments of the epoch, the twenty five singers of the Basilica must have been much less prominent than is usual today.

After this time, Croce, the new head of the *cappella,* ordered and paid the players, and as he was much more active than either Donato or Zarlino had been, it is not surprising that Gabrieli no longer did this. Nevertheless the paybook shows that the orchestra remained much the same in the next ten years, and many of Gabrieli's posthumously published canzonas and sonatas must have been written for this ensemble. The twelve extra players were required for the Christmas and Easter Day festivals each year as well as for Ascension Day and St Mark's Day. On lesser festivals, such as the Purification of the Madonna and the Epiphany, eight or nine players were enough. For the four greater festivals the singers were sometimes augmented to bring the choir's strength up to about thirty five. For the lesser festivals no extra singers were employed. Nearly all of Gabrieli's published music was clearly meant for these various occasions. He was the festival composer *par excellence* [30] and it is clear that it was Croce's role to provide the more routine music both for S. Marco and for other churches.

In 1607, the Acts of the Procurators of S. Marco tell us of his recurring illness [31], and his diminishing activity is confirmed by the account books of the Basilica; for when Croce died in 1609 it might be expected that the main work of hiring players would fall on his shoulders, as the senior among the musicians. Instead Giovanni Bassano took on these duties, and was aided by one of the singers, Agostin Fasuol, who was later given an additional fee for arranging and directing the music in the interregnum [32].

[30] It is significant that we do not find him writing a *missa brevis* even at a time when the Patriarch was putting on considerable pressure to shorten the music in all the churches under his jurisdiction. (v. Patriarchal decree of 1595 in Museo Correr Cod. Cicogna 2583, folio 119). This virtually means that his music can never have been performed outside S. Marco.

[31] Fr. Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di S. Marco, Venezia dal 1312 al 1797.*

[32] Proc. de Supra, Registro 140, entry 21 January 1610 (M.V. 1609).

The Scuola di San Rocco, however, still made full use of his abilities, as we see from the accounts for 1608 [33] and the succeeding three years. In 1609, the musical entries for the festival of San Rocco are worth examination in full for surely some of Gabrieli's compositions were given then.

p contadj a S. Zuanne Bassã p due compe de istrumenti et 6 agionti	L 310 g —
p doi Violoni	L 31
p tre Violini	L 54
p donativo al do Bassan	L 30
p contadj al Prete da Piove	L 62
p contadj al Pesarino	L 62
p cortesia al Vesintino [Vicentino?]	L 61 g 4
p contadj a doi Compe de Cantori	L 372
p contadj a quatro Cantori de scola secondo l'ordeno	L 14
p cinque organi	L 102
p cortesia a Sr Z. Gabrieli	L 90
p nolo del organo grando	L 31
p cortesia a m. Pre Bortolo	L 60
p cortesia al Priuli che sono l'organo	L 10 [34]

The unusual special payment for three violins surely helps us to date the famous Sonata for 3 violins and continuo, a work which with its elaborate written-out ornamentation was clearly designed for soloists of some distinction. The two companies of instruments were probably of six players each [35], thus making with the string players a total of twenty three. This again suggests that the big canzonas published posthumously were written for such an occasion, since even in S. Marco Gabrieli rarely had an orchestra quite so big. Moreover some of these late works have ornate violin parts that again require exceptional players.

Some of the late motets also may have been performed on such a day. It is worthy of notice that such a work as "In Ecclesiis" no longer requires (even though it can be performed with) the separated choirs usual in S. Marco. For the solo sections, the ornamented parts would have been ideally performed by such soloists as the alto Barbarino (il Pesarino) and the tenor Vido Rovetta (da Piove), whose own works show them to have been virtuosi of the first rank and thoroughly accustomed to the ornamentation which Gabrieli wrote for them.

In 1610, the account is less revealing, although it tells us that Gabrieli's fee was again 62 lire. In the following year, he received 10 ducats (about the same) and seemingly was in charge of the arrangements, for he paid

[33] See Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 237.

[34] A.S.V. San Rocco Busta 158, Cauzioni (1609-10).

[35] This is the usual number as laid down by the regulations of the Guild of Players, written in Cancelleria Inferiore, Registro 80, f. 52 et seq.

all the singers, including the vice-maestro di cappella of S. Marco, a mediocrity who can scarcely have composed the music for the day even if he directed it. Gabrieli as usual hired them the organs, and again we find some singers named as soloists, which may confirm us in our belief that some of Gabrieli's late motets were performed.

In 1612, the S. Rocco accounts lack Gabrieli's name. Priuli made the arrangements; for Gabrieli had died four days earlier. The Necrology of the Provveditori alla Sanità contains the melancholy entry

> 12 agosto 1612
> Il S. Zuanne Gabrieli d'anni 58 da mal de pietra g^{ni} 18 med^{o} il Cerchieri S. Samuel [36].

If these official documents quoted here do little to convey the spirit of a man praised so extravagantly by Schütz and sought so keenly as a teacher by composers all over Europe, at least they suggest solutions to certain problems. His recurring attacks of illness, which may have caused the fading out of the records after 1606 may well account for the smallness of his *oeuvre*. Even allowing for losses, his work is slight in bulk compared with the great giants of the age such as Lassus, Palestrina and Giovanni's uncle Andrea Gabrieli. And the rather specialised nature of his music is accounted for by certain significant omissions in the documents preserved in the Venetian archives. Unlike Croce and the other *maestri* and *vice-maestri di cappella* of S. Marco whose names appear frequently in the records of the Guild of Singers which supplied the music for almost every church and minor confraternity in Venice, Gabrieli seems to have taken no part in their dealings [37]. Having spent all his life, after his youth, in Venice, he had no experience of the ordinary court composer's lot. It is therefore no surprise that so little of his music was published in his lifetime. There was simply no use for it away from Venice.

The puzzles which remain largely concern his influence on the outside world and especially on German composers. Of his friendship with Hassler, his time at the Bavarian court and his later visit to Graz we know virtually nothing. We must continue to hope that the archives of these distant cities will reveal their secrets, and tell us why Schütz, as well as many lesser men, sought a knowledge of his mastery, and could exclaim, "Gabrieli, ye gods, what a man was that . . ."

Venice

[36] It is just possible to read 58 as 56, owing to the stroke of the pen; but comparison with earlier numbers in the book makes this unlikely. All these figures must be used with caution, however, as there are many mistakes, including one in Monteverdi's age in the appropriate entry.

[37] The proceedings of the Guild are preserved in the series of files, Cancelleria Inferiore, Acts of the Doges.

GIUSTINIANI'S
DISCORSO SOPRA LA MUSICA

Translated by

CAROL MacCLINTOCK

Vincenzo Giustiniani's *Discorso sopra la musica* was first published in 1878 by Salvatore Bongi, archivist of the *Archivio dello Stato* in Lucca, and was printed in a limited edition of 150 copies to honor the marriage of Cavaliere Luciano Banchi with Giuseppina Brini. It is one of eight treatises found in a codex in the Library of the *Archivio dello Stato.* The codex is entitled *Miscellanea di cose diverse per la Curia Romana ecc . . . Varij discorsi, istruzioni, ecc* . . . and carries the mark O 49 of the collection Orsucci. It had apparently belonged to Nicolao Orsucci, who wrote his name on it and the date 1640. The *Discorso* itself may be dated 1628, or shortly thereafter, because of the reference to Vincenzo Ugolino, who was called to Parma in that year for the marriage of the Duke of Parma with Margarita de' Medici. The contents of the codex are as follows:

1° Dialogo tra Renzo e Aniello napoletano sopra gli usi di Roma e di Napoli.
2° Avvertimento per un Scalco.
3° Istruzione necessaria per Fabbricare.
4° Istruzione per far Viaggi.
5° Discorso sopra la Pittura.
6° Id. sopra la Musica.
7° Id. sopra la Caccia.
8° Istruzione per un Maestro di Casa.

No author's name appears in these essays, but the second treatise is in the form of a letter from Bassanese Passatempo (obviously a *nom de plume*) to a certain Francesco da Domo. From various references to his father and brothers, to his possessions, and to certain events in his life, there can be no doubt that the author is Vincenzo Giustiniani, and it is clear that Giustiniani was making no real attempt to conceal his identity.

The *Discorso sopra la musica* is also written in the form of a letter of instruction to a young nobleman, a not uncommon method of presentation in the 16th and 17th centuries. Indeed, this treatise may really have served that purpose because the language is informal, even colloquial, and the

whole tone very far from the academicism which characterizes technical treatises on music of the same period. Vincenzo Giustiniani, Marchese da Bassano, brother of Cardinal Benedetto Giustiniani, was one of the large group of noble *dilettanti* in Rome around 1600 who cultivated *le belle arti.* Of a noble Genoese family, he was a gentleman of culture and devoted himself to the collection of *objets d'art* and other such pleasures. His palaces at Rome and in Bassano, near Viterbo, were filled with priceless art treasures. These he reproduced in his *Galleria Giustiniana,* which was published in 1631 [1]. Living as he did in the shadow of the Barberini and being one of those greatly in favor at the Papal court [2], he had every opportunity to observe minutely the musical life of Rome. Not a professional musician, as he expressly states in his essay, he had nevertheless attained some proficiency in the art and had heard many discussions about music in his own house; he cannot, therefore, be accused of presumptuousness in writing about it.

As a source for information about the period from, roughly, 1570 to 1630 in Italy, the *Discorso* is a valuable document and has been widely used. The opinions and observations of a cultured and noble *dilettante* on music and customs unquestionably present many points of interest to the historian and musicologist, and Giustiniani's candid recounting of the changing styles in music over a period of years provides information not only about various manners of singing and playing but also the names of many of the leading musicians and a catalogue of the instruments currently in use. In the case of a number of the musicians, Giustiniani's reference is the only one we have. Although it is to be regretted that he does not go very deeply into his descriptions of singers and instruments, there can be no question that any addition, however slight, to our meager knowledge of actual practices in performance is of very great value.

Aside from Professor Bongi's limited edition, the *Discorso* has been published only by Angelo Solerti in his *Origini del melodramma* [3], 1903, which is now out of print. The present translation is the first appearance of this treatise in English.

* *
*

[1] The *Galleria* is a 2-volume collection of engravings by Bloemart and others. Vincenzo's portrait appears therein, with the date 1631.

[2] Vincenzo received extraordinary favors from the Popes Clement VIII, Paolo V and Gregory XV. The Marquisate of Bassano was established in 1605 by decree of Paolo V.

[3] Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1903.

DISCORSO SOPRA LA MUSICA

Your Lordship has seen already that I remembered to write to you in response to your request concerning the manners and rules to be observed in conversation, to sustain it and make it worth while. Now I am reminded that the study of music may be very much in accordance with Your Lordship's inclination and it seems suitable that I add these few pages to the others I have written, to set down the considerations which have occurred to me *a propos* of this subject, to better satisfy Your Lordship. It is not my desire, however, to enter upon a discourse on the theory of music, which has been taught to us by many ancient and modern writers, together with the other branches of knowledge such as the fine arts and mathematics, in particular by certain authors such as Saint Augustine and Boethius. Nor do I wish to speak of the various parts of music distinguished as canto fermo, figurato, chromatic, and enharmonic, the first three of which are in use today and have been treated by divers authors; of the last we know nothing. Nor do I pretend to write of the origins nor of the inventors of music, nor of those who have perfected it by reducing it to a definite rule and just measure of tones or of sounds in proper proportion, corresponding to the true rules; for I have not acquired such a knowledge of music that I can talk about it with security and without risk of incurring cause for reproof in some maxim or concept, or of being taxed with trying with overweening pretention to enter into *messem alienam*. But because I wish to give pleasure and satisfaction to Your Lordship in the request that you made to me, I will set down familiarly several thoughts that occur to me upon this subject, basing them on the little experience I have acquired while I was conversing in houses where there was no gambling but rather delightful occupations, particularly music, performed without assistance of paid performers by divers gentlemen who took pleasure and delight in it through natural inclination. And to make things easier I will treat this brief discourse almost like a narration in historical form, divided into several different periods in which, during the course of my lifetime, different ways of singing and playing have been invented, brought about by various and distinct circumstances. And in my discourse when it is appropriate, there will be inserted some ideas which, being pertinent to the subject, will not be out of place.

To begin I will tell you that the art of music is placed by liberal men very high, as that art which in order to reach its true perfection should approach, rather than share, the rank held by the sciences. In order that a musical composition succeed in gaining esteem it is necessary that it be composed according to the proper and true rule of this profession and, in addition, with new and difficult restrictions which may not be known to all

musicians in general; and not only madrigals and compositions to be sung by several voices, but even the others in counterpoint, and canons, and that which seems more marvellous, the same arias to be sung easily by a single voice. And to succeed in this task the inclination given to many by nature will not be sufficient; there is required also study and application of mind and body. For possessing the rules and the just proportions of numbers, joined with those of the voice or of sound and the knowledge of the effects which are caused by these in the souls of men, not only in general but in particular corresponding to the individual inclinations of everyone and to the taste which prevails in different periods, one may be able to apply skill and experience to his own times, to human inclinations in general, and to the particular tastes of each person. And to attain this ability much application of the intellect is required, and much discussion is necessary to come to some conclusion about the work when the principles have been worked out beforehand. It is not necessary to have studied Aristotle's *Dialectics* and to have learned those verses *Barbara celerent* etc.; but only to unite all the conditions and circumstances above mentioned. And for confirmation of all these things I will say first of all:

1° That in my youth my father (God rest his soul) sent me to the music school, and I observed that the compositions in use were those of Arcadelt, of Orlando Lassus, of Striggio, Cipriano de Rore, and Filippo di Monte, considered to be the best of that time, as indeed they were. And for a solo voice singing with some instrument the taste for the Villanella napoletana prevailed; in imitation of which many were composed in Rome, particularly by a certain Pitio, excellent musician and noble jester.

2° In a short space of time the style of music changed and the compositions of Luca Marenzio and Ruggero Giovanelli appeared with delightful new inventions, either that of singing with several voices or with one voice alone accompanied by some instrument, the excellence of which consisted in a melody new and grateful to the ear, with some easy fugues without extraordinary artifices. At the same time Pellestrina [*sic*], Soriano, Giovanni Maria Nanino composed works suitable to be sung with ease in church, of good and solid counterpoint with good melody and decent ornamentation; so excellent that even today their compositions are preferred to those of the moderns, all of whom obtained from them [the older composers] the discipline which they have attempted to vary more with pretty ornamentation than with basic and fundamental devices.

3° In the Holy Year of 1575, or shortly thereafter, a style of singing appeared which was very different from that preceding. It continued for some years, chiefly in the manner of one voice singing with accompaniment,

and was exemplified by Giovanni Andrea napoletano, Signor Giulio Cesare Brancaccio [4], and Alessandro Merlo romano [5]. These all sang bass with a range of 22 notes and with a variety of passage-work new and pleasing to the ear of all. They inspired the composers to write similar works to be sung by several voices in the manner of a single one accompanied by some instruments, in imitation of the above-mentioned and of a certain woman called Femia. But they achieved greater invention and artifice, which resulted in some Villanellas which were a mixture of Madrigals in florid style and Villanellas. Many books of these by the aforementioned authors and by Orazio Vecchi and others are seen today. But as the Villanellas acquired greater perfection through more artful composition, so also every composer, in order that his compositions should satisfy the general taste, took care to advance in the style of composition for several voices, particularly Giaches Wert in Mantua and Luzzasco in Ferrara. They were the superintendants of all music for those Dukes, who took the greatest delight in the art, especially in having many noble ladies and gentlemen learn to sing and play superbly, so that they spent entire days in some rooms designed especially for this purpose and beautifully decorated with paintings. The ladies of Mantua and Ferrara were highly competent, and vied with each other not only in regard to the timbre and training of their voices but also in the design of exquisite passages delivered at opportune points, but not in excess, (Giovanni Luca [6] of Rome, who served also in Ferrara, usually erred in this respect.) Furthermore, they moderated or increased their voices, loud or soft, heavy or light, according to the demands of the piece they were singing; now slow, breaking off with sometimes a gentle sigh, now singing long passages legato or detached, now groups, now leaps, now with long trills, now with short, and again with sweet running passages sung softly, to which sometimes one heard an echo answer unexpectedly. They accompanied the music and the sentiment with appropriate facial expressions, glances and gestures, with no awkward movements of the mouth or hands or body which might not express the feeling of the song. They made the words clear in such a way that one could hear even the last syllable of every word, which was never interrupted or suppressed by passages and other embellishments. They used many other particular devices which will be known to persons more experienced than I. And under these favorable circumstances the abovementioned musicians made every effort to win fame and the favor of the Princes their patrons, who were their principal support.

[4] Famous basso, also the author of a treatise on military tactics.

[5] Famed for his phenomenal voice, Merlo was a violist and composer as well, and a pupil of Willaert and Rore.

[6] Giovanni Luca Conforto.

4° With the example of these Courts and the two Neapolitan basses who sang in the manner described above, in Rome they began to change the style of composition for several voices, both *sopra il libro* and *canto figurato* [7], and also for one or for two voices, at most, with instruments. Prince Gesualdo of Venosa, who played both Lute and Neapolitan Chitarrone excellently, began to compose madrigals full of many artifices and exquisite counterpoint, with difficult, beautiful canonic subjects in each part, all mingled together in such proportion that there were no superfluous notes outside of the fugues [8], the subject always remaining the same even when put *alla rovescia*. And because this refinement of the rules was wont sometimes to make composition hard and difficult, it was necessary to make every effort to choose the subject carefully, for even though there might be difficulties in its composition, the music should be melodious and emerge so sweet and fluent that when sung it would appear to be easy for anyone to compose; yet if one tried it, it would be found difficult and not for every composer. And the Neapolitans Stella [9], Nenna [10], and Scipione of Ritici composed in this manner, following the above-mentioned style of the Prince of Venosa and of Count Alfonso Fontanella [11].

5° At the same time the Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici, who later became Grand Duke of Tuscany, stimulated both by his own tastes and by the example of the other Princes I have mentioned, hastened to acquire excellent musicians, expecially the famous Vittoria [12], with whom has almost originated the true method of singing for females, inasmuch as she was the wife of Antonio di Santa Fiore, so named because from his youth he was the favorite musician of the Cardinal of Santa Fiore. And with this example many others in Rome practiced this manner of singing, so that it prevailed on all the musicians of the other cities and Princes already spoken

[7] For a discussion of these terms see E. T. Ferand, "Improvised Vocal Counterpoint in the late Renaissance and early Baroque", *Annales Musicologiques,* IV (1956) 129 ff.

[8] Translator's note: As every scholar knows, the exact meaning of many of the technical terms used must be determined from the context. Here the term *fughe* = counterpoint or imitations, but not *fugue* in the sense used generally today. I have sometimes translated this word as imitation, or counterpoint, or canonic subject, according to the sense required. Giustiniani's use of *fuga* accords with V. Lusitano's use of the term in his *Introdutione facilissima et novissima . . . con Regole Generale per far fughe differenti sopra il Canto fermo . . .* Rome, 1553.

[9] Scipione Stella.

[10] Pomponio Nenna.

[11] Count Alfonso Fontanella was a menber of the Bardi group in Florence.

[12] Vittoria Archilei.

of. Then there appeared Giulio Romano [13], Giuseppino, Giovanni Domenico, and Rasi, who learned from Giulio Romano in Florence; and they all sang, whether bass or tenor, with a range consisting of many notes, and with exquisite style and passage-work, and with extraordinary feeling and a particular talent to make the words clearly heard. And besides these were many sopranos, such as Giovanni Luca, Ottavio Durante, Simoncino, Ludovico, who sang in falsetto, and many eunuchs of the Capella; and others such as Onofrio of Pistoia, Mathias from Spain, Giovanni Gironimo of Perugia, and many others that I will omit for the sake of brevity.

The Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici was then followed by Cardinal Montalto, who took no less pleasure in music, for in addition he played the Cembalo excellently and sang in a sweet and sensitive manner; and he had in his house many professional musicians who were far from mediocre. Among them were the Cavaliere del Leuto and Scipione Dentici del Cembalo, both excellent players and composers; and then also Orazio, a rare performer on the Double Harp; and for singers he had Onofrio Gualfreducci, a eunuch, Ippolita Napoletana, and Melchior Basso, and many others for whom he provided generously. And with the example set by these musicians and all the others I have named, the practice of music revived so that after them many relatives of the Popes, and Cardinals and Princes took pleasure in it. Even all the Maestri di Cappella undertook to instruct certain castrati and boys to sing in florid style and in the new sentimental style. Among these Giovanni Berardino Nanino, Maestro di Cappella in San Luigi [14], and Ruggero Giovannelli developed pupils who had great success; but since these are still living and very numerous I shall not name them now.

6° Since that time there have been many composers such as Claudio Monte Verde [*sic*], Giovanni Berardino Nanino, Felice Anerio and others who, without abandoning the style of composition of Prince Gesualdo of Venosa, have tried to soften and simplify the style and manner of composing, and in particular they have written many works to be sung in the churches, in various styles and inventions for several choirs, even as many as twelve. And this style and manner of writing for a great number of good singers has been continued and is in use even today. I will say furthermore that in our times music has become more noble and illustrious than ever, since King Philip IV of Spain and both his brothers take great pleasure in it and are accustomed frequently to sing and to play Viols together, with a few other musicians to make up the necessary number, among these

[13] Giulio Caccini.

[14] San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome.

Filippo Piccinino bolognese, a most excellent performer on the Lute and the Pandora. And further, the King and his brothers write compositions not only for their own pleasure but also to be sung in the royal chapel and other churches while the divine offices are celebrated. This inclination and pleasure of his Majesty will be the reason why many gentlemen still delight in it, and many others apply themselves to music. As the verse says: *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis* [15].

7° And from what I have just said it may be clearly understood that the style and manner of singing varies from time to time according to the tastes of the Lords and great Princes who take pleasure in it; exactly as it happens in the manner of dress, which continually changes according to the fashion that has been introduced in the courts of the great; as for example in Europe one dresses in the style of France and Spain.

8° Besides these changes in the manner of singing, it may be observed that each nation, each province, almost each city has a way of singing entirely different from the others. And from this comes the old saying: *Galli cantant, Hispani ululant, Germani boant, Itali plorant.* And further, right here in Italy it is recognized that the style and the melody differ from one place to another; as for example the *Romanesca* aria, which is unique and considered to be most beautiful, and is sung by everybody with the greatest delight as something exquisite and most suitable for every sort of embellishment and is accompanied with great facility in every mode; and the same is true of the aria called *Fantinella.* In Sicily there are particular melodies which differ according to the location, for in Palermo it will be one aria, in Messina another, yet another in Catania, and still different in Siracusa. The same is true in the other cities and districts of that kingdom; and also in the other places in Italy, as in Genoa, Milan, Florence, Bergamo, Urbino, Ancona, Foligno and Norcia. I have specified these only as examples, leaving out many others in order to restrict this discourse.

In the general opinion of musicians, in order for a composition of any style or manner to be of worth and pleasing to the hearer, as I have indicated above, it must be written first of all in good counterpoint founded on the correct rules, with novel and difficult passages to weave together in all the parts without burdening it with superfluous notes, sometimes writing it by the rules in the ordinary way, sometimes in inversion.

Secondly, that the entire composition, and the points of imitation particularly, be easy and flowing in such fashion that the artifices do not make them harsh, else they may not be understood except by persons expert in the profession and who give especial attention to such things.

[15] C. Claudianus, *De IV consulatu Honorii,* vss. 299.

And in the third place, that they be pleasant to hear[16] and have unusual grace. I have learned from experience that many compositions by outstanding composers which meet the first two conditions and lack the third have not been acceptable, and remain in the bottom of a chest or on top of a bookcase covered with dust. I could adduce much from this, but being noted for brevity I will say no more. And this third condition is also necessary in the other compositions which are called arias to be sung by one or several voices to instruments; else without it they will be cold and tasteless and, for all their artifice and difficult counterpoint, unknown to others.

From the greater part of the foregoing matter it may be that Your Lordship has a desire and curiosity to know what melody and gracefulness in music and compositions may be, since it causes them to delight and please whomever hears them when they are sung or played. Foreseeing the request that you may make, because I wish to please you, I will say that to answer precisely would be difficult even for someone more learned than I. Nevertheless, without going back to former times as do some people who profess to know something of matters which are very remote, I will tell you what I think is necessary.

In all the professions which require the industry and sagacity of man, *natura naturans o naturata,* as we say, has reserved a part for itself in order to take away from man any occasion to become proud, making him recognize that he is inept and useless by himself without divine aid or favor, making him learn by experience that with all the industry and invention that may exist in any profession whatsoever, it will remain obscure and devoid of glory and fame unless there is added the grace which is a gift of Almighty God, not only in human things and acts but in all creation. As, for example, one will see a most beautiful and decorative woman and she will not have grace, but another will be ugly and will be gracious; a certain cavalier will know the rules of jousting and horsemanship perfectly and yet not possess grace like another who doesn't know so much. It will be said that so-and-so preaches excellently, but lacks grace. One may even say a certain gentleman speaks well and scientifically, but lacks grace; and another who does not know very much is gracious in his speech. One speaks of a gentle and gracious breeze, a graceful horse with a graceful gait. One painter will be clumsy, another graceful in his figures and a sculptor in his statues; and so one could continue with all things created, especially so on earth. But because this is something known to everyone, these examples will suffice. I will conclude with the following comparison: in music, for voice as well as for instruments, one will be able to offer the same reasons

[16] "de buon aria".

for grace and melody saying, by way of definition, that singing with grace is nothing other than a close observance of the style and rules of singing and of those rules for using the voice or playing a good instrument so that it shall not be unpleasant or awkward. It is this grace that customarily brings pleasure and delight to the ears of persons of judgment. And so one can say that a person does not have a good voice but sings with grace as, for example, I will mention again the Cardinal Montalto, who played and sang with much grace and feeling even though his appearance was more martial than apollonian, and who had a scratchy voice [17], as we say. And the same is true of Giulio Romano who, as I have said, was the inventor of a new manner of singing.

And that it is true that grace in singing is a quality provided by nature and not by art (except only in the observation of pleasing modes, as I have said) may be seen from the fact that sometimes a singer appears pleasing to one person and tiresome to another; and on the contrary a stupid singer pleases when he ought not to. And the same effect is seeen also in other things, especially in the bordellos of Spain and Africa in which there is not a woman that does not find a market, however ugly she may be. And so it is said also that in the butchershops no meat remains unsold; and the like may be said of other things of which I will not speak for brevity's sake.

I must not omit, however, a marvelous effect that proceeds from music and sound; this has been observed for a long time in Puglia and in the kingdom of Naples with persons who have been bitten by tarantulas, or "burned" as they say in those countries. In this illness which makes them suffer internally so that they must of necessity be continually in motion, almost dancing, they receive great solace and many times total relief from music or sound of instruments; and what is even more amazing, from one particular kind of music or instrument. Among many arias and kinds of music performed for those who are ill, they feel relief from only one sound or one music, as I have said. When these poor people are not cured they are attacked by this torment each year at the season in which they were hurt; and then with different instruments and songs it is possible if not to cure them at least to give them some relief, which is found to be greater than the remedies the doctors give.

On this point I could cite the many and varied effects which ancient authors ascribe to the music used by the Arcadians, and also other fables, narrated as being true, such as those of the sirens, of Amphion, of Marsyas, of Arion, of Apollo, of the Muses and Orpheus, and of still others who were able to move the minds of their listeners to various and divers actions according to the diversity of the style and mode, and particularly with

[17] „voce da scrivere".

enharmonic music which, as I have said, is not known in the present century. With music they induced tears, laughter, fury, and taking up arms not only against the enemy but in civil wars; and what is more, they made the people obey the magistrates and superiors when there was disorder and rebellion. But I will go on without developing this detail, which is superfluous, since one can read what the ancient writers like Pythagoras and Plato have said about it. These philosophers, with others, also believed that there was a continuous harmony of the spheres, proceeding from their infallibly ordered movement, and that all the terrestrial harmonies are similar to this, and with the same proportions, since no other satisfactory reason except experience can be given for the cause of the consonances and dissonances. Notwithstanding the fact that the ancients and moderns tried to attribute them to the proportions of numbers and to the movement of the spheres, this nevertheless does not seem able fully to satisfy the intellect; therefore one is forced to have recourse to experiment alone, and to a *pratique* based on the hearing, not finding any other reason to explain that the 3rd, 5th, 6th and octave are consonances and the 2nd, 4th, and 7th are dissonances. In addition one must have recourse to many other rules of proportion on which counterpoint is based, both as to the duration of the notes and to the different proportions of the tempo, and the diversity of tones and many other things which it is not my business to explain to you.

One could also try to find out the reason why music is so exciting an instrument and one so able to move souls to love, particularly in women; to whom for this reason it is usual to make serenades. But this would be an undertaking rather for an astrologer or a philosopher than for me, and therefore I will leave it to them for the present. Likewise I will leave it to the theologians to explain the devotion and fervor that music arouses in the souls of men during the celebration of the divine offices, and in the uniting of many people's spirits on the occasion of singing together, as may be observed daily in the processions of the religious brotherhoods and societies through the streets of the city. *A propos* of this I will say that a person well known to me chose to frequent a certain congregation, preferring it to many others perhaps better, because its leader and Rector had a beautiful voice when he gave the sermon, and sang the litany well, with grace and with a pleasing tone.

There would remain also to be investigated the reason why, in fishing for swordfish, which one can say is almost hunting, it is reputed necessary to sing, and what is more, to sing with Greek words. Also the reason why instruments or song put human beings to sleep, particularly children and the other animals; and also why song lightens the effort and tiresomeness of the heat for the laborers and farm workers in the summer, even though with singing their thirst increases. And also from what comes the benefit

that is commonly believed singing and playing brings to silk-worms, which are called "cavalieri" in Lombardy. And also why singing lessens fear in children while they are walking at night. But we shall leave these thoughts to doctors and to philosophers who know more about them than we.

Songs and appropriate sounds have power to incite the minds of men to various and diverse actions, as I have said, and especially to war; for which purpose are used both the Trumpet and the Drum, at the same time shouting with all the voices together. Thus even the horses are excited and are filled with fervor in the act of fighting; as Virgil says, *Aere ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu* [18]. And song is a great incentive to drink overmuch, as is done in Germany and also in Italy where they often sing the *berlinghino* [winebibbing-song] for this purpose. I have found myself in Florence in company with more than a hundred persons who, returning from hunting, sang many crazy songs together in order to relieve the tedium of the journey. Among the sailors and porters we see it in the custom of accompanying their united efforts with singing in order to lessen fatigue; and so, too, do those who crush drugs and spices on the Rialto Bridge. Many preachers are heard who in order to move the ignorant and low classes make use more of songs than of ideas, particularly in the sermons for Good Friday. In this way one can say truly that in the effects which proceed from music nature plays a great part, as does skill also; just as it does in the irrational animals and particularly in the birds, to whom have been given all kinds of notes and songs. It almost seems that they compete among themselves to reach a greater perfection and to teach such skill to their young, as being for many reasons necessary to their survival; this is seen by experience, chiefly among the nightingales and parrots. Whence we see that music has a great effect not only on men but also on irrational animals. And if some people do not derive satisfaction from it, as some whom I have known, particularly the last Cardinal Francesco Sforza, that is caused by too great an application of their minds to other emotions which they feel strongly or more keenly. Not being satisfied with one activity alone they willingly shift their attention to anything that presents itself. One could almost say, *nesciunt stare loco.*

In the present course of our age music is not much in use, not being practiced in Rome by gentlemen, nor do they sing together with several voices as in past years, notwithstanding that it would provide the greatest possible opportunity to unify and sustain evening parties. Indeed, music is reduced to an unusual and almost new perfection, being practiced by a great number of good musicians who, trained by the abovementioned excellent maestri, bring the greatest pleasure to whomever hears them by

[18] *Aeneid,* Book VI, 165.

their artistic and sweet song. For having left the old style, which was somewhat unpolished, and also the excessive passage-work with which they embellished it, they now devote their attention for the most part to a recitative style, gracefully embellished with ornaments appropriate to the thought; and from time to time they execute passages with judgment and distinctness and with appropriate and varied consonances to mark the end of each period, in which the composers of today are wont to produce boredom with excessive and too frequent cadences. Above all, they make the words clear, using one note for each syllable; now piano, now forte, now slow, now fast — by the expression of their faces and by their gestures giving meaning to what they are singing, but with moderation and not in excess. They sing with one or at most three voices in concert with suitable instruments, as the Theorbo, or Chitarre, or the Cembalo, or with Organ, according to the circumstances. There has been further introduced into this style in Rome as well as in Naples and Genoa a manner of singing known as *alla spagnola* or *alla italiana* (which is similar but with greater art and embellishment), with newly invented melodies and ornamentation in which the composers excel, as in Rome Giovanni Geronimo, called Il Tedesco della Tiorba. In Naples Gutierrez began [it] and then his son Pietro followed, and Gallo [19] and others; and in Genoa a certain Cicco composes and sings, giving great pleasure to the ladies in *conversazioni* and in the evening parties, which are the custom there more than elsewhere.

This recitative style was usually sung by the ladies in the representations in Rome, as the usage is today also, but it proved to be so crude and without variety of consonances and ornaments that if the ennui that was felt had not been mitigated by the presence of such performers the audience would have left their seats and the room quite empty.

Giulio Romano and Giuseppino, as I have shown already, were the ones who were almost the inventors of this style, or at least gave it good form; and then little by little it became more perfect, to such a point that it seems that little else can be added to it in the future. This style has even been introduced for the singing of Latin verses and hymns and odes of piety and devotion, sung with sweetness and great decorum, and so as to make the words and ideas clear and distinctly heard.

Today in compositions to be sung in church not so much value is given as formerly to the solidity and artistry of the counterpoint as to the great variety and diversity of the embellishments, and to the use of several choirs at solemn feasts with the accompaniment of orchestras of various instruments; even the recitative style is introduced. This music demands great practical knowledge and liveliness of invention and effort to write rather

[19] Vincenzo Gallo, Sicilian.

than great maturity and knowledge of refined counterpoint. And from this it may be seen that the maestri di cappella of the principal churches are young men; the oldest among them is Vincenzo Ugolino who is about 40 years old. He was Maestro di cappella in San Pietro for some years and is now in Parma, called there upon the occasion of the marriage of that Most Serene Duke with the Most Serene Margarita de' Medici, sister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

In the first and second part of this discourse we have talked of music suitable for the human voice and to be sung; now it remains to say a few things about the various sounds as well as the diversity of instruments. But since it seems to me that Your Lordship may wish to know the difference between voice and sound, leaving aside all that other people have written I will say only that sound, in my opinion, is proper to inanimate things, for it proceeds from air struck or compressed or confined, which is then exhaled and diffused with varying proportions of time and degrees of violence. For example, the property of the anvil and of the bell will be called *sound,* and also that of the Organ and of all the wind instruments and the Viols; and *voice* is proper to all the animals, but principally to man. The usual instruments are Organs, the Lute or Pandora, the Harp, the Cembalo, the Theorbo, Guitar and Lyre; all these are instruments to which one can sing with one or more voices. Then there are the Flutes, the Pifferi, Viols for ensemble and the double Viola or Bastarda, the Violino, the Cornett, the German Piffero, the Sordellino, the Piva, the Colascione and the Sanfornia, and still others that are variations of those mentioned. As, for example, I will say that Alessandro Piccinino of Bologna was the inventor of the Pandora; that is, of a Lute made into a Theorbo by the addition of many strings in the bass and many in the top, and among them some strings of brass and some of silver. It is so constructed that with its range of notes and the quantity of strings it is possible to play every perfect composition exquisitely, with advantage over the other instruments in the trill and in the *piano e forte.* His brother Geronimo (who died in Flanders) played these instruments superbly, and now they are played by Filippo, the third brother, who serves His Catholic Majesty, as I have said.

The Double Harp was discovered almost in our own time in Naples; in Rome it began to be used by a certain Giovanni Battista del Violino, so called because he played this instrument most excellently. And now Horatio Mihi plays this Double Harp almost miraculously, not only in his technic but in his special way of damping the sound of the strings which, if they continued, would cause dissonances and cacophony. Further, he excels all others in a difficult trill. For Organ and Cembalo Geronimo Frescobaldi of Ferrara carries off all the honors, both in his skill and in the agility of his hands. For the Theorbo the above-mentioned Giovanni Geronimo Tedesco,

who is also a composer and serves in the palace for private music and public concerts. The Theorbo has been invented in our day and Giovanni Geronimo has much improved the manner of playing it. Then there are many performers on other instruments whom I will not name except the Cavaliere Luigi del Cornetto from Ancona, who played marvelously. Among other performances, he played many times in one of my little rooms to the accompaniment of a Cembalo which was closed up and could scarcely be heard; and he played the Cornett with such moderation and exactitude that it astonished many gentleman present who liked music, because the Cornett did not overshadow the sound of the Cembalo. As for the Viola Bastarda, I have heard a certain Orazio della Viola, who served the Duke of Parma; and lately in Rome an Englishman who played without equal. Formerly the pastime of a concert of Viols or Flutes was much in vogue, but in the end it was discontinued because of the difficulty of keeping the instruments in tune (for not being played frequently they became almost useless), and of getting together the many persons to make up the concert. Then, too, experience has shown that such diversion, with the uniformity of sound and of the consonances, became tiresome rather quickly and was an incentive to sleep rather than to pass the time on a warm afternoon. Playing the Lute was also much practiced in past times; but this instrument has been almost entirely abandoned since the Theorbo has been introduced. It, being more suitable for singing even moderately well and with a poor voice, has been eagerly accepted generally in order to avoid the great amount of labor needed to learn to play the Lute well. At the same time the Spanish Guitar was introduced throughout Italy, especially in Naples. It, together with the Theorbo, appears to have conspired to banish the Lute altogether, and it has almost succeeded; just as the mode of dressing *alla spagnola* in Italy prevails over all the other fashions. The aforesaid Alessandro Piccinino has recently invented an instrument similar to the Plectrum (Lyre?) of Apollo [20], a combination of Theorbo, Lute, Cithara, Harp and Guitar, which performs marvels; but it will not be used much because of the difficulty of learning to play it with the facility with which he himself played.

Playing the Neapolitan Chitarra has been entirely given up in Rome, and almost given up in Naples. Formerly Don Ettore Gesualdo and Fabritio Filomarino played it excellently in concert with the Prince of Venosa whom we have mentioned. The Sordellina was invented in Naples also and introduced in Rome, where it did not continue long since it was an imperfect instrument which pleased only the first time it was heard and then, not

[20] "Plettro" — a singular use of this term which means simply "plectrum" and which here apparently was used by extension to mean Lyre.

having much variety in the consonances and not being useful for singing, soon became tiresome. The sound of the Trumpet is suitable for war and to incite and to direct the cavalry in particular actions; however it is not used by noble persons but by mercenaries. In Flanders because of the wars there are many people who play in a better than average way, and the same is true in England. The same may be said also of the Drum and of the Bagpipes of the Comiti di Galere and of the Germans and the Swiss. Pifferi are used in the armed forces and in seagoing vessels; by those that sail the ocean they are played most exquisitely. They are used also on land, mainly in Spain where they are called *Geremias*; and in Italy they are used in festivals in small towns and country districts, and also in the great cities at the festivals of the common people. This is true also of the bands of Violins. Playing the Piffero or Traverse in the German style, to make musical counterpoint with grace and nicety, is not known by many in Italy. However, at Rome the signor Giulio Cesare of Orvieto was accustomed to play it, and at present it is practiced by a noble gentleman who, among the many virtues and honorable skills that he possesses in abundance, plays also upon this instrument, to the amazement of those who hear him.

The playing of the Sanfornia, which in Rome is called by a foul name and in Lombardy Viabò, is not worthy of being brought up, as it is seen ordinarily in the mouths of the rabble. But having been ennobled by Signor Ottaviano Vestrij, who plays it with a musical intention and with accuracy in the intonation of the notes, I shall not omit it; many times I have heard him play, among other madrigals, that of Luca Marenzio which begins *Vestiva i colli,* etc. In Antwerp I have heard the same madrigal played on the bells in the campanile of the principal church. The player had the book before him and touched the keys, as one does with Organs; and he himself told me that this was the custom in Bolduch and in other places of Brabant and Flanders. A certain Francesco Tunnilla, a goldsmith in Bologna and a man widely esteemed, has invented a brass ball which encloses some machinery inside it; at the least motion it sounds an unexpected harmony, to the delight and marvel of the hearer.

This narration will seem long and tiresome to Your Lordship, especially with the names of so many persons. But if you will have consideration for my intention to give you ample satisfaction, and to the kind of material which it treats, you will readily recognize that I would have written badly in another manner in attempting to explain the different kinds of music and the changes which have occurred at distinct intervals of time according to the circumstances. These have aroused many fine talents to find new inventions to present for everyone's pleasure, and to profit themselves from it, as at present there are many people who, with the profession of music, have earned more than a thousand *scudi* of income; one cannot begin to

name them all. However, this is not a discourse on political theory composed, or to say better, stolen from good writers both ancient and modern as is the practice of many writers today, but it is a true account in the guise of telling of facts and relating history based on what little knowledge I have acquired, as I said, during the conversations engaged in by many lords and gentlemen in my house where, among other honorable practices, making music was the custom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
1960

WOLFGANG SCHMIEDER

BOOKS

Apfel, Ernst: *Studien zur Satztechnik der mittelalterlichen englischen Musik.* T. 1. 2. — Heidelberg: Winter 1959. (= *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil. hist. Kl.* 1959, 5.)

— L'Ars nova. *Recueil d'études sur la musique du 14e siècle.* — Paris: Les Belles Lettres 1959. — (= *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955.)

— *Ars nova and the Renaissance 1300-1540.* Ed. by Anselm Hughes and Gerald Abraham. — London: Oxford Univ. Press 1960. XIX, 565 p. (= *The new Oxford history of music.* 3.)

Becherini, Bianca: *Catalogo dei manuscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze.* — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1959. XII, 177 p.

Beurhaus, Friedrich: *Musicae rudimenta.* <*Dortmund 1581*>. Eingel. u. hrsg. von Walter Thoene. — Köln: Volk 1960. IV, 51 p. (= *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte.* 38.)

Bittinger, Werner: *Schütz-Werke-Verzeichnis.* <*SWV*>. Im Auftr. d. Neuen Schütz-Gesellschaft hrsg. Kleine Ausg. — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1960. XXXI, 191 p.

Cantera, Francisco: *La canción morárabe.* — Santander: Publ. de la Universidad Intern. 'Menéndez Pelayo' 1957. 77 p.

Clercx, Suzanne: *Johannes Ciconia, un musicien liègeois et son temps.* <Vers 1335-1411>. T. 1: La vie et l'oeuvre. — Bruxelles: Palais des académies 1960. (= *Académie royale de Belgique. Mémoires. Cl. des beaux arts. Coll. in -4°.* Sér. 2, 10, 1a.)

Cutts, John P.: *La Musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare.* The King's men sous le règne de Jacques Ier. Édition critique. — Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique 1959. LIII, 198 p. (= *Le Choeur des muses.*)

Daras: *Mora vocis.* Quilisma et épisèmes horizontaux. <Histoire et critique>. Retour à la rythmique traditionelle <greco-romaine> du Chant grégorien sous la conduite de Gui d'Arezzo <11e s.> — Louvain: Daras 1959. 105 p. (= *Etude de rythmique grégorienne.*)

Engel, Hans: *Die Musikpflege der Philipps-Universität zu Marburg seit 1527.* — Marburg: Elwert in Komm. 1957. 84 p.

Fārābī, Abū-Nasr Muhammad Ibn-Muhammad Ibn Tarhān al: *Al-Farabi's Arabic-Latin Writings on music,* ... De Scientiis ... De Ortu scientiarum ... The texts ed., with transl. and comm. by Henry George Farmer. (2. ed.) — New York: Hinrichsen (1960). 65 p. (= *Collection of oriental writers on music.* 2.)

Feicht, Hieronim: *Polifonia Renesansu.* — Kraków: Pol. Wyd. Muz. 1957. 243 p.

Fellerer, Karl Gustav: *Palestrina.* Leben u. Werk. 2., völlig umgearb., verm. u. verb. Aufl. mit Kunstdruckabb. u. zahlr. Notenbeisp. im Text. — Düsseldorf: Schwann (1960). 244 p.

— *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint.* Études ... réunies et présentées par Jean Jacquot. — Paris: Ed. du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 1960. 518 p., XLVII p. fig. (= *Les Fêtes de la renaissance.* 2.)

Forchert, Arno: *Das Spätwerk des Michael Praetorius.* Italienische u. deutsche Stilbegegnung. — Berlin: Merseburger 1959. X, 240 p. (= *Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft.* 1.)

Gennrich, Friedrich: *Der musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours.* — Darmstadt: Gennrich 1958-60. (= *Summa musicae medii aevi.* 3. 4.)

Guenther, Ursula: *Zehn datierbare Kompositionen der ars nova.* — Hamburg: Musikwiss. Inst. d. Univ. 1959. 27 p. (= *Schriftenreihe d. Musikwiss. Inst. d. Univ. Hamburg.* 2.)

Guido von Arezzo: *Expositiones in Micrologum Guidonis Aretini.* Ed. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe. — Amsterdam: North-Holland Publ. Comp. 1957. 175 p. (= *Musicologica medii aevi.* 1.)

Hermelink, Siegfried: *Dispositiones modorum.* Die Tonarten in der Musik Palestrinas und seiner Zeitgenossen. — Tutzing: Schneider 1960. (= *Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte.* 4.)

Jones, Percy: *The glosses de musica of John Scottus Eriugena in the Ms. Lat. 12960 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.* — Tivoli: Chicca 1957. 115 p.

Kettering, Heinz: *Quellen und Studien zur Essener Musikgeschichte des hohen Mittelalters.* — Essen: Webels 1960. 344 p. (= *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte.* 17.)

Kirchner, Gerhard: *Der Generalbasz bei Heinrich Schütz.* — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1960. 111 p. (= *Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten.* 18.)

Labhardt, Frank: *Das Sequentiar Cod. 546 der Stiftsbibliothek von St.*

Gallen und seine Quellen. T. 1: Textband. — Bern: Haupt (1959). (= *Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft.* 2, 8.)

Llorens, Joseph M.: *Capellae Sixtinae Codices musicis notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelo excussi.* — Città del Vaticano: Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana 1960. XXII, 555 p. (= *Studi e testi.* 202.)

Meersseman, Gilles: *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland.* Bd. 1: Akathistos — Akoluthie und Gruszhymnen. — Freiburg (Schweiz): Universitätsverl. 1959. XII, 228 p. (= *Spicilegium Friburgense.* 2.)

— *The Music in the St. Victor manuscript. Paris lat. 15139.* Polyphony of the 13th century. Introd. and facs. by Ethel Thurston. — Toronto: Pontifical Inst. of Mediaeval Studies 1959. 46 p. (= *Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. Studies and texts.*)

Osthoff, Wolfgang: *Das dramatische Spätwerk Claudio Monteverdis.* — Tutzing: Schneider 1960. 267 p. (= *Osthoff: Monteverdistudien.* 1; *Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte.* 3.)

Overath, Johannes: *Untersuchungen über die Melodien des Liedpsalters von Kaspar Ulenberg <Köln 1582>.* Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Kirchenliedes im 16. Jahrhundert. — Köln: Volk 1960. 148 p. (= *Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte.* 33.)

— *Recueils imprimés, XVIe-XVIIe siècles.* Ouvrage publ. sous la dir. de François Lesure. T. 1: Liste chronologique. — München, Duisburg: Henle (1960). (= *Répertoire international des sources musicales.* 1.)

Riedel, Friedrich Wilhelm: *Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts <vornehmlich in Deutschland>.* — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1960. 224 p. (= *Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung Kiel.* 10.)

Schlitzer, Franco: *Intorno alla "Dori" di Antonio Cesti.* — Firenze: Sansoni 1957. 18 p.

Szweykowski, Zygmunt M.: *Kultura wokalna XVI-wiecznej Polski.* — Kraków: Pol. Wyd. Muz. 1957. 126 p.

Thodberg, Christian: *The tonal System of the kontakarium.* Studies in Byzantine psalticon style. — København: Munksgaard in Komm. 1960. 20 p. (= *Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser udg. af det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.* 37, 7.)

— *Vinzenz von Beauvais O.P. <um 1194-1264> und sein Musiktraktat im Speculum doctrinale* von Gottfried Göller. — Regensburg: Bosse 1959. IV, 127 p. (= *Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung.* 15.)

Weiss, David G.: *Samuel Pepys, curioso.* — Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press 1957. XII, 122 p.

Zaminer, Frieder: *Der Vatikanische Organum-Traktat. <Ottob. lat. 3025.>* Organum-Praxis d. frühen Notre Dame-Schule u. ihrer Vorstufen. — Tutzing: Schneider 1959. 203 p. (= *Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte.* 2.)

Zirnbauer, Heinz: *Der Notenbestand der reichsstädtisch nürnbergischen Ratsmusik.* Eine bibliographische Rekonstruktion. Mit e. Beitrag von Theodor Wohnhaas: Leistungen der Reichsstadt zur Ratsmusik <1550-1670>. — Nürnberg: Fränk. Verl.-Anst. u. Buchdr. 1959. 48 p. (= *Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg.* 1.)

ARTICLES

Aarburg, Ursula: "Zu den Lutherliedern im jonischen Oktavraum". — In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie.* 5 (1960), p. 125-131.

Ameln, Konrad: " 'Es ist ein Ros entsprungen'. Strittige Fassungen von Text und Weise". — In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie.* 5 (1960), p. 146-154.

— "Luthers Liedauswahl". — In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie.* 5 (1960), p. 122-125.

Anglès, Higino: "Die zwei Arten der Mensuralnotation der Monodie des Mittelalters". — In *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 56-57.

Apel, Willi: "Remarks about the isorhythmic motet". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 139-148.

— "Tänze und Arien für Klavier aus dem Jahre 1588". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 17 (1960), p. 51-60.

Apfel, Ernst: "Über einige Zusammenhänge zwischen Text und Musik im Mittelalter, besonders in England". — In: *Medium aevum vivum.* Festschrift für Walther Bulst. (1960), p. 207-211.

Arnold, Denis: "Andrea Gabrieli und die Entwicklung der 'cori-spezzati'-Technik". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 12 (1959), p. 258-274.

Baillie, Hugh: "Les musiciens de la Chapelle Royale d'Henri VIII au Camp du Drap d'Or". — In: *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint.* 1960. p. 147-159.

Becherini, Bianca: "Communications sur Antonio Squarcialupi et notes au Cod. Med. Palatino 87". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 65.

— "Poesia e musica in Italia al primi del XV secolo". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 239-259.

Boetticher, Wolfgang: "Zum Spätstilproblem im Schaffen Orlando di

Lassos". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 69-71.

Borren, Charles van den: "L'Ars Nova". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 17-26.

Bowles, Edmund A.: "Musical Instruments at the medieval banquet". — In: *Revue Belge de Musicologie.* 12 (1958), p. 41-51.

Bragard, Anne-Marie: "Détails nouveaux sur les musiciens de la cour du pape Clément VII". — In: *Revue Belge de Musicologie.* 12 (1958), p. 5-18.

Brenn, Franz: "Ockeghems spiritueller Rhythmus". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 73-74.

Bridgman, Nanie: "La participation musicale a l'entrée de Charles Quint à Cambrai, le 20 janvier 1540". — In: *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint.* 1960, p. 235-253.

Brinkel, Karl: "Zu Johann Walters Stellung als Hofkapellmeister in Dresden". — In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie.* 5 (1960), p. 135-143.

Brown, David: "The Styles and chronology of Thomas Morley's motets". — In: *Music and letters.* 41 (1960), p. 216-222.

Brown, Howard: "The Chanson rustique: Popular elements in the 15th and 16th-century chanson". — In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* 12 (1959), p. 16-26.

Brown, Samuel E.: "A possible Cantus Firmus among Ciconia's isorhythmic motets". — In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* 12 (1959), p. 7-15.

Carpenter, Hoyle: "Microtones in a sixteenth century Portuguese manuscript". — In: *Acta Musicologica.* 32 (1960), p. 23-28.

Chailley, Jacques: "A propos de Thémison". — In: *Revue de musicologie.* 41 (1958), p. 15-26.

Clercx, Suzanne: "Johannes Ciconia et la chronologie des mss. italiens, Mod. 568 et Lucca <Mn>". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 110-130.

Dahlhaus, Carl: "Ockeghems 'Fuga trium vocum' ". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 13 (1960), p. 307-310.

— "Über den Dissonanzbegriff des Mittelalters". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958. p. 87-88.

— "Über das Tempo in der Musik des späten 16. Jahrhunderts". — In: *Musica.* 13 (1959), p. 767-769.

— "Zur Theorie des Tactus im 16. Jahrhundert". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 17 (1960), p. 22-39.

Dammann, Rolf: "Geschichte der Begriffsbestimmung Motette". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 16 (1959), p. 337-377.

Duckles, Vincent: "The Lyrics of John Donne as set by his contemporaries". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 91-93.

Dufourcq, Norbert: "Un inventaire de la musique religieuse de la collégiale Notre-Dame d'Annecy. 1661". — In: *Revue de musicologie.* 41 (1958), p. 38-59.

Eggebrecht, Hans Heinrich: " 'Diaphonia vulgariter organum' ". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 93-97.

Emslie, McD.: "Nicholas Lanier's Innovations in English song". — In: *Music and letters.* 41 (1960), p. 13-27.

Engel, Hans: "Werden und Wesen des Madrigals". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 39-52.

Feller, Marilyn: "The new Style of Giulio Caccini, member of the Florentine Camerata". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 102-104.

Ferand, Ernest T.: "Zum Begriff der 'compositio' im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 104-107.

Fischer, Kurt von: "Chronologie des manuscrits du Trecento". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 131-136.

— "Zur Entwicklung der italienischen Trecento-Notation". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 16 (1959), p. 87-99.

— "L'influence française sur la notation des manuscrits du Trecento". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 27-34.

— "Neues zur Passionskomposition des 16. Jahrhunderts". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 107-108.

— "A propos de la répartition du texte et le nombre de voix dans les oeuvres italiennes du Trecento". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 232-238.

Ford, Wyn K.: "The Chapel Royal at the restoration". — In: *Monthly Musical Record.* 90 (1960), p. 99-106.

Fornaçon, Siegfried: "L'Estocart und sein Psalter [1582]". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 13 (1960), p. 188-191.

Garros, Madeleine: "Les Motets à voix seule de Guillaume Gabriel Nivers".

— In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 108-110.

Geck, Martin: "Quellenkritische Bemerkungen zu Dietrich Buxtehudes Missa brevis". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 13 (1960), p. 47-49.

Ghisi, Federico: "Le composizioni vocali umoristische di Giacomo Carissimi". — In: *Revue Belge de Musicologie.* 12 (1958), p. 67-70.

— "La Persistance du sentiment monodique et l'évolution de la polyphonie italienne du XIVe au XVe siècle". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2, 1955 (1959), p. 217-231.

Ghislanzoni, Alberto: "Les Formes littéraires et musicales italiennes au commencement du XIVe siècle". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 149-163.

Goldthwaite, Scott: "Rhythmic pattern Signposts in the 15th-century chanson". — In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* 11 (1958), p. 177-188.

Günther, Ursula: "Die Anwendung der Diminution in der Handschrift Chantilly 1047". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 17 (1960), p. 1-21.

Hamm, Charles: "A Group of anonymous English pieces in Trent 87". — In: *Music and letters.* 41 (1960), p. 211-215.

Hammerstein, Reinhold: "Instrumenta Hieronymi". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 16 (1959), p. 117-134.

— "Tuba intonet salutaris. Die Musik auf den süditalienischen Exultet-Rollen". — In: *Acta musicologica.* 31 (1959), p. 109-129.

Hartmann, Karl Günther: "Die Handschrift KN 144 der Ratsbücherei zu Lüneburg". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 13 (1960), p. 1-27.

Haydon, Glen: "The Hymns of Costanzo Festa. A style study". — In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* 12 (1959), p. 105-117.

— "The Lateran Codex 61". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 126-131.

Heartz, Daniel: "Un divertissement de Palais pour Charles Quint à Binche". — In: *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint.* 1960. p. 329-342.

— "Parisian Music publishing under Henry II: A propos of four recently discovered guitar books". — In: *The Musical Quarterly.* 46 (1960), p. 448-467.

Hermelink, Siegfried: "Rhythmische Struktur in der Musik von Heinrich Schütz". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 16 (1959), p. 378-390.

Hoffmann-Erbrecht, Lothar: "Neue Dokumente zum Leben Thomas Stoltzers". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 139-141.

Hoppin, Richard H. & Suzanne Clercx: "Notes biographiques sur quelques musiciens français du XIVe siècle". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 64-92.

Horsley, Imongene: "The 16th-century Variation. A new historical survey". — In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* 12 (1959), p. 118-132.

Hucke, Helmut: "Zum Problem des Rhythmus im Gregorianischen Gesang". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 141-143 und in: *Musik und Altar.* 12 (1960), p. 156-159.

Hüschen, Heinrich: "Der Harmoniebegriff in Musikschriften des Altertums und des Mittelalters". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 143-150.

Jammers, Ewald: "Ein spätmittelalterliches Alleluja". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 12 (1959), p. 307-315.

— "Der Vers der Trobadors und Trouveres und die deutschen Kontrafakten". — In: *Medium aevum vivum.* Festschrift für Walter Bulst. (1960), p. 147-160.

Irtenkauf, Wolfgang: "Beiträge zur Einführung der Liniennotation im südwestdeutschen Sprachraum um 1200". — In: *Acta musicologica.* 32 (1960), p. 33-39.

Kast, Paul: "Remarques sur la musique et les musiciens de la Chapelle de François Ier au Camp du Drap d'Or". — In: *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint.* 1960. p. 135-146.

Kloppenburg, W. C. M.: "De 'Parnassia militia' (1622) van Vinko Jelic". — In: *Mens en melodie.* 13 (1958), p. 173-178.

Klusen, Ernst: "Gregorianischer Choral und frühprotestantisches Kirchenlied. Neue Gesichtspunkte zur Beurteilung ihrer gegenseitigen Beziehungen". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 157-159.

Krause, Peter: "Die Hymni sacri et scholastici des Wolfgang Figulus". — In: *Max Schneider zum 8'. Geburtstag.* (1960), p. 517-528.

Lampl, Hans: "Michael Praetorius on the use of trumpets. Introduction and translation". — In: *Brass Quarterly.* 2, 1 (1958), p. 3-7.

LaRue, Jan: "Tobias Stimmer's 'Women musicians': A unique series of woodcuts. By Jan LaRue and Jeannette B. Holland". — In: *Bulletin of the New York Public Library.* (1960), p. 9-28.

Lebeau, Elisabeth: "Daniel Danielis, 1635-1696". — In: *Revue Belge de Musicologie.* 12 (1958), p. 70-74.

Lefkowitz, Murray: "New Facts concerning William Lawes and Caroline Masque". — In: *Music and letters.* 40 (1959), p. 324-333.

Lenaerts, René B.: "Improvisation auf der Orgel und der Laute in den Niederlanden <16. und 17. Jahrhundert>". — In: *Bericht über den Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 177-179.

Lerner, Edward R.: "The 'German' Works of Alexander Agricola". — In: *The Musical Quarterly.* 46 (1960), p. 56-66.

Lesure, François: "Les Chansons à trois voix de Clément Janequin". — In: *Revue de musicologie.* 44 (1959), p. 193-198.

Lipphardt, Walther: " 'Christ ist erstanden'. Zur Geschichte des Liedes". — In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie.* 5 (1960), p. 96-114.

— "Ein unbekannter karolingischer Tonar und seine Bedeutung für die fränkische Choralüberlieferung". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 179-181.

Lottermoser, Werner: "Akustische Untersuchungen an der Compenius-Orgel im Schlosse Frederiksborg bei Kopenhagen". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 15 (1958), p. 113-119.

Lowe, Robert W.: "Les representations en musique au Collège Louis-Le-Grand. 1650-1688". — In: *Revue d'histoire du théatre.* 10 (1958), p. 21-34.

Luther, Wilhelm Martin: "Die nichtliturgischen Musikinkunabeln der Göttinger Bibliothek". — In: *Libris et litteris.* Festschrift für Tiemann z. 60. Geb. 1959. Hamburg: Maximilian-Ges. 1959.

Massenkeil, Günther: "Bemerkungen zum 'Compendium musicae' <1618> des René Descartes". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 188-191.

Mendel, Arthur: "A brief Note on triple proportion in Schuetz". — In: *The Musical Quarterly.* 46 (1960), p. 67-70.

Meyer-Baer, Kathi: "Der Musikdruck in Inkunabeln. Ein übersehenes Hilfsmittel zur Beschreibung". — In: *Libri.* 10 (1960), p. 105-110.

Moberg, Carl-Allan: "Zur Melodiegeschichte des Pange-Lingua-Hymnus". — In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie.* 5 (1960), p. 46-74.

Mueren, Floris van der: „École bourguignonne, école néerlandaise ou début de la Renaissance"? — In: *Revue Belge de Musicologie.* 12 (1958), p. 53-65.

Muller, Francis: "La Technique de la réalisation variée dans la Tablature de Goerlitz <1650> de Samuel Scheidt". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 197-198.

Nagler, Alois M.: "Theaterfeste der Medici". — In: *Maske und Kothurn.* 6 (1960), p. 17-32.

Noske, Frits: "Joannes Tollius, ein niederländischer Meister des Frühbarock". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 203-207.

Palisca, Claude V.: "Vicenzo Galilei and some links between 'pseudo-monody' and monody". — In: *The Musical Quarterly.* 46 (1960), p. 344-360.

Pannain, Guido: "Studi monteverdiani". — In: *La Rassegna musicale.* 30 (1960), p. 24-32.

Picker, Martin: "Three unidentified Chansons by Pierre de la Rue in the Album de Marguerite d'Autriche". — In: *The Musical Quarterly.* 46 (1960), p. 329-343.

Pidoux, Pierre: "Die Autoren der Genfer Melodien". — In: *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie.* 5 (1960), p. 143-146.

Pietzsche, Gerhard: "Orgelbauer, Organisten und Orgelspiel in Deutschland bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhundert". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 12 (1959), p. 152-161, 294-298, 415-421.

Pilgrim, Jack: "Tallis' Lamentations and the 'English Cadence' ". — In: *The Music Review.* 20 (1959), p. 1-6.

Pirrotta, N.: "Chronologia e denominazione dell' Ars Nova italiana". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 94-109.

Plamenac, Dragan: "German Polyphonic Lieder of the 15th century in a little-known manuscript". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 214-215.

Radke, Hans: "Bemerkungen zur Lautenistenfamilie Gallot". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 13 (1960), p. 51-55.

Raugel, Felix: "Saint-Césaire, précepteur du Chant gallican". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 217-218.

Reaney, Gilbert: "Musica ficta in the works of Guillaume de Machaut". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 196-213.

— "A Note on conductus rhythm". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 219-221.

Richardson, Brian: "New Light on Dowland's continental movements". — In: *Monthly Musical Record.* 90 (1960), p. 3-9.

Riedel, Friedrich Wilhelm: "Eine unbekannte Quelle zu Johann Kaspar Kerlls Musik für Tasteninstrumente". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 13 (1960), p. 310-314.

Schlötterer, Reinhold: "Struktur und Kompositionsverfahren in der Musik Palestrinas". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 17 (1960), p. 40-50.

Schmid, Hans: "Die Kölner Handschrift der Musica Enchiriadis". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 262-264.

Schmidt-Garre, Helmut: "Radikalismus im Organum um 1200". — In: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik.* 120 (1959), p. 129-132.

Schrade, Leo: "The Chronology of the Ars Nova in France". — In: *Les Colloques de Wégimont.* 2. 1955 (1959), p. 37-62.

Shaw, Watkins, "A contemporary source of English music of the Purcellian period". — In: *Acta musicologica.* 31 (1959), p. 38-44.

Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph: "Zur ursprünglichen Vortragsweise der Prosulen, Sequenzen und Organa". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 251-254.

Speer, Klaus: "The Organ Verso in Iberian music to 1700". — In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* 11 (1958), p. 189-199.

Spiess, Lincoln Bunce: "The Diatonic 'Chromaticism' of the Enchiriadis Treatises". — In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* 12 (1959), p. 1-6.

Spink, Ian: "Lanier in Italy". — In: *Music and letters.* 40 (1959), p. 242-252.

Spruit, Jop: "De speelman in de Nederlanden van de 13e-15e eeuw". — In: *Mens en melodie.* 15 (1960), p. 332-336.

— "Speelmansrecht in de middeleeuwen". — In: *Mens en melodie.* 15 (1960), p. 82-83.

Stam, Edward: "Eine 'Fuga trium vovum' von Josquin Desprez". — In: *Die Musikforschung.* 13 (1960), p. 28-33.

Stephan, Rudolf: "Zur Cantio-Rhythmik". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 281-282.

Stevens, Denis: "Ornamentation in Monteverdi's shorter dramatic works". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 284-287.

Stutz, Elfriede: "Das Fortleben der mittelalterlichen Zwillingsformel im Kirchenlied, besonders bei Paul Gerhardt". — In: *Medium aevum vivum.* Festschrift für Walter Bulst. (1960), p. 238-252.

Tilmouth, Michael: "Nicola Matteis [Engl. Violinist u. Komponist ital. Herkunft, 17. Jh.]". — In: *The Musical Quarterly.* 46 (1960), p. 22-40.

Waeltner, Ernst Ludwig: "Die Methode terminologischer Untersuchungen frühmittelalterlicher Musiktraktate dargestellt an einem Beispiel des Aurelianus Reomensis". — In: *Medium aevum vivum.* Festschrift für Walther Bulst. (1960), p. 48-60.

— "Die 'Musica disciplina' des Aurelianus Reomensis". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 293-295.

Waite, William G.: "Johannes de Garlandia, poet and musician". — In: *Speculum.* 35 (1960), p. 179-195.

Werker, Gerard: "Gesualdo di Venosa (1560-1613)". — In: *Mens en melodie.* 15 (1960), p. 269-273.

Wienpahl, Robert W.: "Zarlino, the Senario and tonality". — In: *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* 12 (1959), p. 27-41.

Winternitz, Emanuel: "Quattrocento-Intarsien als Quellen der Instrumentengeschichte". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 300-302.

Wolff, Hellmuth Christian: "Orientalische Einflüsse in den Improvisationen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 308-315.

Worbs, Hans Christoph: "Die Schichtung des deutschen Liedgutes in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts". — In: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft.* 17 (1960), p. 61-70.

Zimmerman, Franklin S.: "Advanced tonal Design in the part-songs of William Byrd". — In: *Bericht über den 7. Internat. Musikwiss. Kongress Köln* 1958, p. 322-326.

DISSERTATIONS

Adolf, Hans-Peter: *Das Kirchenlied Johann Heermanns und seine Stellung im Vorpietismus.* — Tübingen, Diss. 1957. 159. [Typescript].

Birke, Joachim: *Die Passionsmusiken von Thomas Selle. 1599-1663. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Passion im 17. Jahrhundert.* — Hamburg, Diss. 1957. 98, XL. [Typescript].

Carpenter, Hoyle: *The Works of Antonio de Cabezón.* — Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Library 1957. 417. [Microfilm].

Childs, Robert B.: *The Setting of Poetry in the English Madrigal; with an edition of the Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule.* — Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms 1959. 505. (Diss., Stanford Univ.)

Cutts, J. P.: *Music for Shakespeare's Company, The King's Men.* — Birmingham, Diss. 1956/57.

Dittmer, Luther Albert: *The Worcester Music Fragments.* — Basel, Diss. 1957. Text: VIII, 154; Transcr.: 5, 131. [Typescript].

Feese, Gerald: *The polyphonic ballades in the manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, I. II. 9.* — State University of Iowa, Diss. 1959. Vol. 1 and 2. 778.

Flindell III, Edwin Frederick: *The achievements of the Notre Dame School.* — University of Pennsylvania, Diss. 1959. 464.

Gerdes, Gisela: *Die Choralvariationen J. P. Sweelincks und seiner Schüler.* — Freiburg i.Br., Diss. 1956. 257, X. [Typescript].

Günther, Renate: *Motette und geistliches Konzert im Schaffen von Alessandro Grandi <ca. 1577-1630>. Eine Studie zur Motettenkomposition in Italien im Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts.* — Berlin, Freie Univ., Diss. 1958. 155.

Heijden, Marcel Charles Antoon van der: *Joannes Stalpart van der Wiele. Madrigalia.* — Nijmegen, Diss. 1960. 287.

Heimrich, Werner: *Die Orgel- und Cembalwerke Bernardo Pasquinis (1637-1710).* — Berlin, Freie Univ., Diss. 1959. 299.

Heinrich, Johannes: *Stilkritische Untersuchungen zur 'Geistlichen Chormusik' von Heinrich Schütz.* — Göttingen, Diss. 1956. 213, II. [Typescript].

Heise, Manfred: *Zum Wesen und Begriff der Parodiemesse des 16. Jahrhunderts.* — Innsbruck, Diss. 1956. 150. [Typescript].

Kirchner, Gerhard: *Der Generalbasz bei Heinrich Schütz.* — Freiburg i.Br., Diss. 1957. 139. [Typescript].

Labhardt, Frank: *Das Sequentiar Cod. 546 der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen und seine Quellen.* — Basel, Diss. 1959. 272.

Luce, Harold T.: *The Requiem Mass from Its Plainsong Beginnings to 1600.* — Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms 1959. 708. Diss.

Michael, George A.: *The Parody Masse Technique of Philippe de Monte.* — Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms 1959. 342. (Diss., New York Univ.).

Rau, Josef: *Tropus und Sequenz im 'Mainzer Cantatorium' <Cod. Lond. Add. 19768>.* — Heidelberg, Diss. 1959. 183. [Typescript].

Reckmann, Kurt: *Die englischen und schottischen Übertragungen der Kirchenlieder Luthers im 16. Jahrhundert.* — Göttingen, Diss. 1957. 251. [Typescript].

Robertson, P. A.: *A critical survey of the motet passion of the 16th century.* — London, Diss. 1956/57.

Salop, Arnold: *The masses of Jacob Obrecht (1450-1505). Structure and*

style. Vol. 1: Commentary. Vol. 2: Musical examples. — Indiana Univ., Diss. 1959. 621.

Stroud, William P.: *The Ravenscroft Psalter, 1621: The Tunes, with a background on Thomas Ravenscroft and psalm singing in his time.* — Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms 1959. 592. (Diss., U.S.C.)

Wade, Walter W.: *The Sacred Style of Luca Marenzio as represented in his Four-Part Motets. With the First Book of Motets for 4 Voices (transcr. by the author).* — Ann Arbor: Univ. Microfilms 1959. 313. (Diss., Northwestern Univ.)

Weiss, Gerhard: *Johann Vierdank (ca. 1605-1646). Sein Leben und sein Werk.* — Marburg, Diss. 1956. 264. [Typescript].

MUSIC

Bull, John: *Keyboard music.* Ed. by John Steele and Francis Cameron. With introd. material by Thurston Dart. 1. — London: Stainer & Bell 1960. (= *Musica Britannica.* 14.)

Clemens non Papa, Jacobus: *Opera omnia.* VIII: Missa defunctorum. Kyrie Paschale. Credo à 8. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology. 1959. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae.* 4.)

Coclico, Adrianus Petit: *Consolationes piae.* Musica reservata. <Nürnberg 1552.> Hrsg. von Martin Ruhnke. — Lippstadt: Kistner & Siegel 1958. XIII, 84 p. (= *Das Erbe deutscher Musik.* 42.)

Coelho, Manuel Rodrigues: *Flores de musica pera o instrumento de tecla & harpa.* Transcr. e estudo de Macario Santiago Kastner. Vol. 1. — Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 1959. (= *Portugaliae Musica.* Ser. A.)

Dufay, Guglielmo: *Opera omnia.* 3: Missarum pars prior. Ed. Heinrich Besseler. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1960. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae.* 1.)

Faugues, Vincent: *Opera omnia.* Faks. d. Werke Faugues aus d. Hs. Trent 88 - Trent 91, Cappella Sistina 14, Cappella Sistina 51, Verona DCCLXI, Modena L.M. 1. 13. Mit e. Einl. von George C. Schütze. [Deutscher u. engl. Text]. — New York: Inst. of Mediaeval Music 1959. XII, 109 p. (= *Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften.* 7.)

Fayrfax, Robert: *Collected Works.* Ed. by Edwin B. Warren. 1: The masses. [With] Critical notes. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1959. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae.* 17.)

Frye, Walter: *Collected Works.* Ed. by Sylvia W. Kenney. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1960. XV, 83 p. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae.* 19.)

Gabrieli, Giovanni: *Opera omnia.* Ed. by Denis Arnold. 2: Motetta. Sacrae Symphoniae <1597>. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1959. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae.* 12.)

Gafurius, Franchinus: *Magnificat.* Transcr. di Fabio Fano. — Milano: Veneranda Fabbricca del Duomo di Milano 1959. VI, 87 p. (= *Archivium musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense.* 4.)

Gafurius, Franchinus: *Mottetti.* Trascr. di Luciano Migliavacca. — Milano: Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano 1959. IX, 136 p. (= *Archivium musices Metropolitanum Mediolanense.* 5.)

Gallus, Jacobus: *Fünf Messen zu acht und sieben Stimmen.* — Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag 1959. XIII, 158 p. (= *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich.* 94/95.

Gautier de Coincy (1177-1236): *Les chansons à la Vierge.* Edition musicale critique, avec introduction et commentaires par Jacques Chailley. — Paris: Heugel 1959. 192 p. (= *Publications de la Société franç. de musicologie.* Ser. 1, 15.)

Geist, Christian: Kirchenkonzerte. [Für Singstimmen mit Streichern u. Generalbass.] Hrsg. von Bo Lundgren. Continuo-Aussetzung von Søren Sørensen. — Frankfurt: Peters 1960. XII, 143 p. (= *Das Erbe deutscher Musik. 1, 48.*)

Gletle, Johann Melchior (1626-1683): *Ausgewählte Kirchenmusik.* Hrsg. von Hans Peter Schanzlin. Continuo-Bearb. von Max Zulauf. Mit e. biogr. Beitr. von Adolf Layer. — Basel: Bärenreiter 1959. XXIII, 156 p. (*Schweizer. Musikdenkmäler.* 2.)

Hammerschmidt, Andreas: *Erster Fleiss.* Instrumentalwerke zu 5 und 3 Stimmen. — Kassel: Nagel 1957. 120 p. (= *Das Erbe deutscher Musik.* 49.)

Jeep, Johann: *Studentengärtlein.* — Wolfenbüttel: Möseler 1958. p. 1-53. (= *Das Erbe deutscher Musik. 29, 4.*)

Josquin des Prez: *Opera omnia.* Uitg. door A. Smijers. Vol. 1, 1: Missa l'homme armé super voces musicales. (2. ed.). Vol. 1, 2: Missa La sol fa re mi. (2. ed.) — Amsterdam: Alsbach 1957.

Landini, Francesco: *The Works.* (With) Commentary. — Monaco: Ed. de l'Oiseau-Lyre 1958. (= *Polyphonic Music of the fourteenth century.* 4.)

Lechner, Leonhard: *Werke.* 4: Sanctissimae Virginis Mariae Canticum secundum octo vulgares tonos, quatour vocibus. 1578. Hrsg. von Wal-

ther Lipphardt. 12: Historia der Passion und Leidens unsers einigen Erlösers und Seligmachers Jesu Christi. 1593. Hrsg. von Konrad Ameln. — Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter 1960.

Le Jeune, Claude: *Airs*. Ed. by D. P. Walker. Vol. II-IV. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1959. (= *Publications of the American Institute of Musicology*. Miscellanea. 1.)

Morales, Cristóbal de: *Opera omnia*. 5: Motetes XXVI-L. — Barcelona: Consejo sup. de invest. cientificas 1959. (= *Monumentos de la musica española*. 20.)

Morley, Thomas: *The first book of consort lessons 1599 and 1611*. Reconstructed and ed. by Sydney Beck. — New York: C. F. Peters 1959. XIX, 194 p. (= *The New York Publ. Libr. Music Publications*.)

Nivers, Guillaume-Gabriel: *Troisième Livre d'orgue*. Publ. avec une introd. par Norbert Dufourcq. — Paris: Heugel 1958. X, 126 p. (= *Publications de la Société française de musicologie*. 1, 14.)

Obrecht, Jacobus: *Opera omnia*. 2, 2: Motetti. — Amsterdam: Alsbach 1958.

Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da: *Le opere complete*. 27. 28: Messe a 4, 5 e 6 voci. Per cura e studio di Lino Bianchi. — Roma: Istituto italiano per la storia della musica. Ed. Scalera 1959. 1960.

Purcell, Henry: *The Works*. 28: Sacred music. P. 4: Anthems. 29: Sacred music P. 5: Anthems. Ed. by Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune. — London: Novello 1959. 1960.

Rore, Cipriano de: *Opera omnia*. Ed. Bernhardus Meier. 1. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1959. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*. 14.)

Steffens, Johann: *Neue teutsche weltliche Madrigale und Balletten*. — Wolfenbüttel: Möseler 1958. p. 55-109. (= *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*. 29, 4.)

Tinctoris, Johannis: *Opera omnia*. Ed. Fredericus Feldmann. 1: Missa 3 vocum. Secundi toni irregularis cum contratenore extra manum. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1960. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*. 18.)

Widmann, Erasmus: *Ausgewählte Werke*. Hrsg. v. Georg Reichert. — Mainz: Schott 1959. XV, 80 p. (= *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*. Sonderreihe. 3.)

★

Cancionero general. Recopilado por Hernando del Castillo <Valencia, 1511>. Sale nuevamente a luz reprod. en facsimile ... por Antonio Rodriguez-Monino. With Suppl. — Madrid: R. Acad. Espanola; Suppl.: Ed. Castalia 1958/59.

Early Fifteenth-century music. 2: Franchois Lebertoul. Guillaume Le Grant. Johannis Le Grant. Guillermi Malbecque. Johannis Reson. Gilet Velut. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1959. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae.* 11.)

Fragments des manuscrits de Chartres. Reprod. phototypique. Présentation par Yves Delaporte. — Sarthe: Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes 1958. 41 p., Facs. (= *Paléographie musicale.* Ser. 1, 17.)

Handschrift Wolfenbüttel 1099 <1206>. Faksimile-Ausgabe. Mit e. Einl. von Luther Dittmer. — Brooklyn, N.Y.: Inst. of Mediaeval Music 1960. 12, 253 p. (= *Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften.* 2.)

Die Lüneburger Orgeltabulatur KN 208[1]. Hrsg. v. Margarete Reimann. — Frankfurt: Litolff 1957. XV, 110 p. (= *Das Erbe deutscher Musik.* 36.)

The Music of fourteenth-century Italy. 2: Maestro Piero. Codex Vatican Rossi 215. Anonymous madrigals and Cacce from other manuscripts. Ed. by Nino Pirotta. — Rome: American Institute of Musicology 1960. XII, 68 p. (= *Corpus mensurabilis musicae.* 8.)

Oxford Latin Liturgical D 20, London Add. Ms. 25031, Chicago Ms. 654 APP. Faks. Einl., Reg. u. Transcriptionen v. Luther Dittmer. — Brooklyn, N.Y.: Inst. of Mediaeval Music 1960. 75 p. (= *Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften.* 6.)

Prophetologium. Fasc. 4: Lectiones hebdomadae 5. quadragesimae et hebdomadae in palmis et maioris. Ed. Carsten Høeg et Günther Zuntz. — Hauniae: Munksgaard 1960. (= *Monumenta musicae Byzantinae.* Lectionaria. 1, 4.)

Sacre rappresentazioni nel manoscritti 201 della Bibliothèque municipale di Orléans. Ed. fototipica. Testi e musiche trascr. e comm. da Giampiero Tintori. Precede uno studio di Raffaello Monterosso. — Cremona: Athenaeum Cremonense 1958. LXXXVI, 103 p. (= *Instituta et monumenta.* 1, 2.)

AVAILABLE PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY

CMM	-	Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae
CSM	-	Corpus Scriptorum de Musica
MSD	-	Musicological Studies and Documents
MISC	-	Miscellanea
MD	-	Musica Disciplina

N.B. — Orders should specify whether constituting a subscription to the set or a purchase of a single volume. Subscriptions, in general at an advantageous cost, and assuring a complete set, will be regarded as binding. Single volumes are, most of them, fixed at a slightly higher price and will be only available as long as the supply lasts. Prices are net and subject to change. The present list supersedes all previous ones. Further descriptions in various announcements.

CMM: CORPUS MENSURABILIS MUSICAE

CMM 1 — GUILLAUME DUFAY
Opera Omnia, edited by G. de Van and H. Besseler in about 6 volumes.

Tomus I: The former volumes 1 and 2, containing all the motets (de Van). XXIV, 30 pp. and XXXII, 96 pp. Complete with Critical Notes. Available as a unit: $ 23.50.

Tomus II: Edited by H. Besseler — *Missa Sine nomine* (new transcription), *Missa Sancti Jacobi* (new transcription), *Missa Sancti Antonii Viennensis, Missa Caput, Alleluia Veni Sancte Spiritus, Missa La Mort de Saint Gothard.* Complete with an ample Introduction, Critical Notes, Facsimiles, XXIV, 127 pp., plates. Price: $ 18.50.

The two masses formerly published (ed. by G. de Van), complete with Introduction and Critical Notes: *Missa Sine nomine,* XXII, 17 pp. Reduced to $ 4.00. *Missa Sancti Iacobi* XVI, 31 pp. Reduced to $ 6.00.

Tomus III: The masses *Se la face ay pale, L'Homme armé, Ecce ancilla domini, Ave reginae coelorum,* (Besseler) XV, 121 pp., Facsimiles. $ 16.50.

CMM 2 GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT
Mass, XXV, 30 pp. edited by G. de Van. Complete with Critical Notes. $ 7.00.

CMM 3 ADRIANO WILLAERT
Opera Omnia, edited by H. Zenck and W. Gerstenberg in about 15 vols.

Vol. I: Motets (4-voice, Zenck). XI, 113 pp., facsimiles. $ 13.50.
Vol. II: Motets (4-voice, Zenck). III, 119 pp., facsimiles. $ 13.00.
Vol. III: Motets (5-voice, Zenck). VI, 123 pp., facsimiles. $ 13.75.
Vol. IV: Motets (6-voice, Zenck). IV, 133 pp., facsimiles. $ 14.50.
Vol. V: Motets (of *Musica nova,* 4-7-voice, Gerstenberg)· X, 283 pp., $ 23.50.
Vol. VI: (yet to appear).
Vol. VII: Hymns, V, 132 pp., $ 15.00.
All volumes so far published, by subscription: $ 83.00.

CMM 4 JACOBUS CLEMENS NON PAPA
Opera Omnia, edited by K. Ph. Bernet Kempers.

Vol. I: The masses *Misericorde, Virtute magna, En espoir, Ecce quam bonum,* in 4 fascicles: I, 32 pp.; II, 22 pp.; III, 21 pp.; IV, 36 pp.; available as a unit: $ 14.50.
Vol. II: The 4 books of Psalms (Souterliedekens). VI, 124 pp. $ 13.00·
Vol. III: Motets. II, 91 pp. $ 13.00.
Vol. IV: Two sets of Magnificat. I, 119 pp. $ 14.25.
Vol. V: The masses *Spes salutis, Gauda lux Donatiane, Languir my fault.* II, 103 pp. $ 12.25.
Vol. VI: The masses *Pastores quidnam vidistis, Caro Mea, Jay veu le cerf.* II, 142 pp. $ 15.00.
Vol. VII: The masses *A la fontaine du prez, Quam pulchra es, Panis quem ego dabo, Or combien est.* II, 158 pp. $ 17.00.
Vol. VIII: *Missa Defunctorum, Kyrie Paschale, Credo* (à 8)· II, 45 pp. $ 5.00.
Vol. IX: Motets. XIII, 150 pp. 2 plates. $ 17.75.
All volumes so far published, by subscription: $ 114.75.

The *Opera Omnia* will be completed by some nine volumes of motets and two or three volumes of secular works.

CMM 5 ANTOINE BRUMEL
Opera Omnia, edited by Armen Carapetyan in about 8 volumes.

Vol. I: Fascicles 1 and 2: The masses *L'Homme armé* and *Je nay dueul.*
Fascicle 1: $ 3.75, fascicle 2: $ 4.00. The two fascicles, by subscription: $ 7.25.

CMM 6 NICOLAS GOMBERT

Opera Omnia, edited by J. Schmidt-Görg in about 12 volumes.

Vol. I: The masses *De pacem, Sancta Maria, Beati omnes, Je suis desheritée.* VI, 101 pp. $ 12.50.

Vol. II: The four 5-voice masses, *Media vita, Sur tous regretz, Filomena, Forseulment.* II, 116 pp. $ 13.50.

Vol. III: (yet to appear).

Vol. IV: Magnificat compositions. III, 93 pp. $ 12.00.

Vol. V: Motets. $ 14.50.

All volumes so far published, by subscription: $ 50.00.

CMM 7 JACOBUS BARBIREAU

Opera Omnia, edited by Bernhard Meier in 2 volumes. Both volumes, complete with an Introduction, Critical Notes and facsimiles, available as a unit: $ 15.50.

CMM 8 *Music of Fourteenth-Century Italy,* Edited by Nino Pirrotta.

Vol. I: The collected works of the Florentines, Giovanni Bartolomeo, Gherardello. A self contained volume, available as such. Price: $ 12.00.

Vol. II: The collected works of Maestro Pierro, compositions from the Codex Vatican, Rossi 215, and madrigals and cacce from other manuscript sources. A self contained volume. $ 12.50.

CMM 9 JOHANNES REGIS

Opera Omnia, edited by C. W. H. Lindenburg in 2 volumes. Both volumes complete with an Introduction, Critical Notes, facsimiles, available as a unit· $ 18.00.

CMM 10 FRANCHINUS GAFURIUS

Vol. I: *Missa De Carnival, Missa Sexti toni irregularis,* ed. by L. Finscher. Price: $ 3.75.

Vol. II: *Missa* (in *Nat. D. N. J. C.*) *Omnipotens genitor, Missa Sanctae Catherinae V. et M., Missa De tous biens pleine, Missa de O clara luce, Missa* (*sine nomine*), *Missa brevis primi toni.* I, 147 pp. Price: $ 15.00.

CMM 11 *Early Fifteenth-century Music,* edited by Gilbert Reaney.

Vol. I: B. Caurdier, J. Cesaris, J. Tapissier, Collected Works, Complete with Introduction, Critical Notes, Poetical texts. $ 12.00.

Vol. II: Joh. Le Grant, Gilet Velut, Guillaume Le Grant, Adam, Bosquet, Cardot, Malbecque, Reson, others. Twenty-three composers in all, some at the Avignon court, some at the Papal court after the schism, some at the court in Burgundy. Sixty-seven compositions of various kinds. Complete with Introduction, Critical Notes, Poetical texts. XXII, 148 pp. $ 16.50.

CMM 12 Giovanni Gabrieli

Opera Omnia, edited by Denis Arnold in about 10 volumes.

Vol. I: Motets *Concerti* (1587), *Sacrae Symphoniae* (1597). V, 181 pp. Price $ 17.00.

Vol. II: Motets, *Sacrae Symphoniae* (1597), completion. II, 245 pp. Price: $ 19.50.
The two volumes, by subscription to the entire set: $ 34.50.

CMM 13 *Missa Tornacensis* (The Tournai Mass) edited by Charles van den Borren. Critical Notes. Price: $ 6.00.

CMM 14 Cipriano di Rore

Opera Omnia, edited by Bernhard Meier in 9 or 10 volumes.

Vol. I: Motets (29 of them) VII, 154 pp. Price: $ 17.00. By subscription: $ 16.00.

Vol. III: Motets. $ 12.00.

CMM 15 Loyset Compere

Opera Omnia, edited by Ludwig Finscher in 6 volumes.

Vol. I: All the Masses and Mass sections. With facsimiles. $ 11.25.

Vol. II: Motets — 3 cycles of 8 motets each, for the liturgy of the Cathedral of Milan. With facsimiles. $ 9.50.

Vol. III: Five tenor, eleven Magnificat and cantus firmus, seven freely composed motets. With facsimiles. $ 8.50.

Vol. IV: Motets. $ 8.50.
All volumes so far published, by subscription: $ 35.00.

CMM 16 ROBERT CARVER (1487 - after 1546)
Collected Works, edited by Denis Stevens in 3-5 fascicles.

Vol. I: The 2 extant motets: *O bone Jesu* (for 19 voices) and *Gaude flore virginali.* Complete with an ample Introduction and with Critical Notes. VI, 30 pp. $ 5.00. By subscription: $ 4.50.

CMM 17 ROBERT FAYRFAX (ca. 1464-1521)
Collected Works, edited by Edwin B. Warren in 3 volumes.

Vol. I: All the Masses: *O bone Jesu, Albanus, O quam glorifica, Regali, Tecum principium,* and the incomplete *Sponsus amat sponsam.* Complete with a Foreword, extensive Critical Notes (detachable for convenience in consultation), facsimiles. XVIII, 180 pp. Price: $ 19.80. By subscription: $ 18.00.

CMM 18 JOHANNES TINCTORIS
Opera Omnia, edited by Fritz Feldmann.
1. Mass dedicated to Ferdinand, King of Sicily and Aragon. VI, 23 pp. Price: $ 4.50. By subscription: $ 4.00.

CMM 19 WALTER FRYE
Opera Omnia, edited by S. Kenney. A single volume containing chansons, motets, masses, a chanson and a motet in organ arrangement. With an Introduction, Critical Notes, facsimiles. XV, 82 pp, 4 plates. Price: $ 14.50.

CMM 20 PIERRE ATTAINGNANT
Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard (1531), ed. by Albert Seay. The 3 books in one volume, complete with an Introduction and Critical Notes, and the vocal version of the chansons. 70 pieces, 204 pp. $ 19.00.

CMM 21 CYPRIOT-FRENCH REPERTORY
The Polyphony in the Manuscript J.II.9 of the National Library in Turin, edited by Richard H. Hoppin, in 4 volumes.

Vol. I: The Mass material, complete with an Introduction and Critical Notes and facsimiles. XII, 95 pp., 4 plates. Price: $ 15.00. By subscription to the set of 4 volumes: $ 13.75.

CMM 22 ALEXANDER AGRICOLA
Opera Omnia, edited by Edward R. Lerner in 5 volumes.

Vol. I: *Missa La Serviteur, Missa Malheur me bat, Missa Je ne demande, Missa In myne zyn,* complete with a foreword and extensive Critical Notes. $ 17.50.

CMM 23 JOHANNES GHISELIN - VERBONNET
Opera Omnia, edited by Clytus Gottwald in 4 volumes.

Vol. I: All the motets, complete with a Foreword and Critical Notes $ 9.50.

CMM 24 GIACHES WERT
Opera Omnia, edited by Carol MacClintock (secular music) and Melvin Burnstein (sacred music) in over a dozen volumes.

Vol. I: Madrigals of 1558, complete with an Introduction and Notes. $ 15.00.

CSM: CORPUS SCRIPTORUM DE MUSICA

CSM 1 JOHANNES AFFLIGEMENSIS (Cotto) [John of Affligem]
De Musica cum Tonario, edited by Jos. Smits van Waesberghe, 207 pp., 16 plates, 7 diagrams, 77 musical examples. Price: $ 8.50.

CSM 2 ARIBO
De Musica, edited by Jos. Smits van Waesberghe. XXVIII, 72 pp., 5 plates, numerous examples. Price: $ 5.00.

CSM 3 JACOBUS OF LIÈGE
Speculum Musicae, edited by Roger Bragard in 7 volumes.

Vol. I: XX, 229 pp., 5 plates, numerous examples, printed on Fabriano paper with antique ink. Price: $ 10.00.

Vol. II: *Liber secundus,* in two parts. 309 pp. in 8vo and 130 pp. in oblong 4to. The two parts: $ 28.00.

CSM 4 GUIDO OF AREZZO
Micrologus, edited by Jos. Smits van Waesberghe. 243 pp., 16 plates, numerous examples. Price: $ 9.00.

CSM 5 Anonymous, *Notitia del valore delle Note Canto Misurato.* A 14th Century Treatise in the Vernacular, edited by Armen Carapetyan. 63 pp., 2 plates, many examples. Cloth. Price: $ 4.25.

CSM 6 MARCHETTUS OF PADUA, *Pomerium,* edited by Giuseppe Vecchi. XXIII, 200 pp., 5 plates, numerous examples. $ 13.50.

CSM 7 UGOLINO OF ORVIETO (ca. 1380-ca. 1457)
Declaratio Musicae Disciplinae, edited by Albert Seay in 3 volumes.

Vol. I: (Consisting of Liber Primus) 230 pp. and 32 pp. of musical examples (over 1,000 of them), 5 plates. Bound in half cloth. $ 14.50. By subscription to the set of 3 volumes: $ 13.00.

Vol. II: Liber Secundus and Liber Tertius; 266 and 24 pp., 521 examples. Bound. Price: $ 16.00. The two volumes by subscription to the set of three volumes: $ 27.50.

MSD: MUSICOLOGICAL STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS

MSD 1 *Cymbala* (*Bells in the Middle Ages*), Collected Texts edited by Jos. Smits van Waesberghe with an Introduction. 63 pp., 8 plates. Half cloth: $ 4.00.

MSD 2 *The Worcester Fragments.* A catalogue raisonné and transcription of the entire material by Luther Dittmer. 255 pp., (70 pp. of text and 185 pp. of music). Half cloth: $ 13.75.

MSD 3 GIROLAMO MEI
Letters on Ancient and Modern Music to Vicenzo Galilei and Giovanni Bardi. The original text edited and annotated, with an extensive Introduction in English by Claude V. Palisca. 212 pp., 8 plates. Bound. $ 8.50.

MSD 4 GEORG MUFFAT
Essay on Thorough Bass, the original German text edited with an extensive Introduction in English by H. Federhofer. 128 pp., 2 plates, numerous illustrations by figured bass realizations. Bound. $ 6.00.

MSD 5 JOHANNES TINCTORIS
Art of Counterpoint, translated and edited by Albert Seay. 124 pp. with some 300 illustrations, bound. $ 5.50.

MSD 8 RENE DESCARTES
Compendium of Music, translated by Walter Robert, Introduction and Notes by Charles Kent. 50 pp. illustrated, bound. $ 3.50.

MISCELLANEA

MISC 1 CLAUDE LE JEUNE
Airs (1608), edited by D. P. Walker in 4 volumes.

Vol. I: *Premier Livre,* Part I.

Vol. II: *Premier Livre,* Part II.

Vol. III & IV (bound together): *Second Livre.* Available as a set. $ 40.00.

MISC 2 JOS. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE
A textbook of Melody (*A Course in Functional Melodic Analysis*). 107 pp., profusely illustrated. Price: $ 2.75 (reduced from 3.75).

MUSICA DISCIPLINA

MD I-XV *Musica Disciplina,* A Yearbook of the History of Music, edited by Armen Carapetyan, Assistant Editor, Gilbert Reaney. Vol. I, Fascicle 1 and 4 out of print. Annual Subscription: $ 8.50. Each back volume up to and including Vol. XI: $ 7.50.

The publications of AIM are available in *France:* Heugel & Cie., 2 bis, Rue Vivienne, Paris 2; in *Germany:* Bärenreiter Antiquariat, Heinrich Schütz Allee 35, Kassel-Wilhelmshöhe; in *Great Britain* and the *Commonwealth* (except *Canada*): Hinrichsen Edition, Ltd., 10-12 Baches Street, London N. 1.

Send other orders to the American Institute of Musicology, Subscription and Distribution Office, P.O. Box 12233, Dallas 25, Texas, U.S.A.

LATEST PUBLICATIONS (1961)

CMM 4	Clemens non Papa, Vol. IX.
CMM 6	Nicolas Gombert, Vol. V.
CMM 14	Cipriano di Rore, Vol. III.
CMM 15	Loyset Compère, Vol. IV.
CMM 20	Pierre Attaingnant, *Transcriptions of Chansons for Keyboard* (1531), one vol. complete.
CMM 22	Alexander Agricola, Vol. I.
CMM 23	Joh. Ghiselin-Verbonnet, Vol. I.
CMM 24	Giaches Wert, Vol. I.
CSM 3	Jacobus of Liège, *Speculum Musicae,* Vol. II.
CSM 6	Marchettus of Padua, *Pomerium.*
MSD 3	Girolamo Mei, *Letters.*
MSD 4	Georg Muffat, *Essay on Thorough Bass.*
MSD 5	Joh. Tinctoris, *Art of Counterpoint.*
MSD 8	René Descartes, *Compendium of Music.*

SOME FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

CMM 1	G. Dufay, *Opera omnia,* Tomus IV.
CMM 4	Clemens non Papa, *Opera omnia,* Vol. X.
CMM 8	*Music of 14th Century Italy,* Vol. III.
CMM 12	G. Gabrieli, *Opera omnia,* Vol. III
CMM 21	Cypriot French Repertory, Vol. II.
CMM 24	G. Wert, *Opera omnia,* Vol. II.
CMM 25	C. Festa, *Opera omnia,* Vol. I, ed. by Alexander Main.
CMM 26	Nicola Vicentino, *Opera omnia* in one volume, ed. by Henry W. Kaufmann.
CSM 3	Jacobus of Liège, *Speculum musicae,* Vol. III.
CSM 7	Ugolino of Orvieto, *Declaratio Musicae Disciplina,* Vol. III (end).
MSD 6	H. Glareanus, *Dodecachordon,* translated and transcribed and edited by Clement A. Miller.
MSD 10	Codex Faenza, Bibl. Comunale, 117. A facsimile edition presented by A. Carapetyan.

Announcing a new series:

CORPUS OF EARLY KEYBOARD MUSIC

Dr. Willi Apel, General Editor

The AIM takes pleasure in a preliminary announcement of a series in early keyboard music under the distinguished editorship of Willi Apel, professor of music in Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A.

The series will include material — unpublished and if published now no longer available — of keyboard music from the 14th to the end of the 17th century.

A provisional list of sources and composers follows. Scholars are invited to participate as editors and to suggest other projects, addressing themselves to Prof. Apel.

The Robertsbridge Codex, the Sagan and Breslau Fragments, Ileborgh, Paumann
The Faenza Codex
The Lublin and Cracow Tablatures
Attaingnant, *Quatorze Gaillards,* 1530
Intabolatura nova de varie sorti de balli, 1551
M. Facoli, *Il secondo libro d'intabolatura di balli d'Arpicordo,* 1558
G. Radino, *Libro d'intabolatura di balli d'Arpicordo,* 1592
Tablatures of Kotter, Kleber, Sicher, all *ca.* 1520
Buchner, *Fundamentum, ca.* 1525
Redford, complete organ works
Other English organ music before 1550, as Preston's, Coxun's, others in the source British Museum, Add., 29996
Merulo, complete organ works

From the vast material in the 17th century only a few of the most important projects are here mentioned:

H. Praetorius
Complete organ works of Erbach
H. L. Hassler
Gregorio Strozzi, *Capricci da sonare,* 1687
Giov. H. Trabaci, complete keyboard music
Bernardo Pasquini, complete keyboard music
Complete organ works of Scheidmann

Many others.